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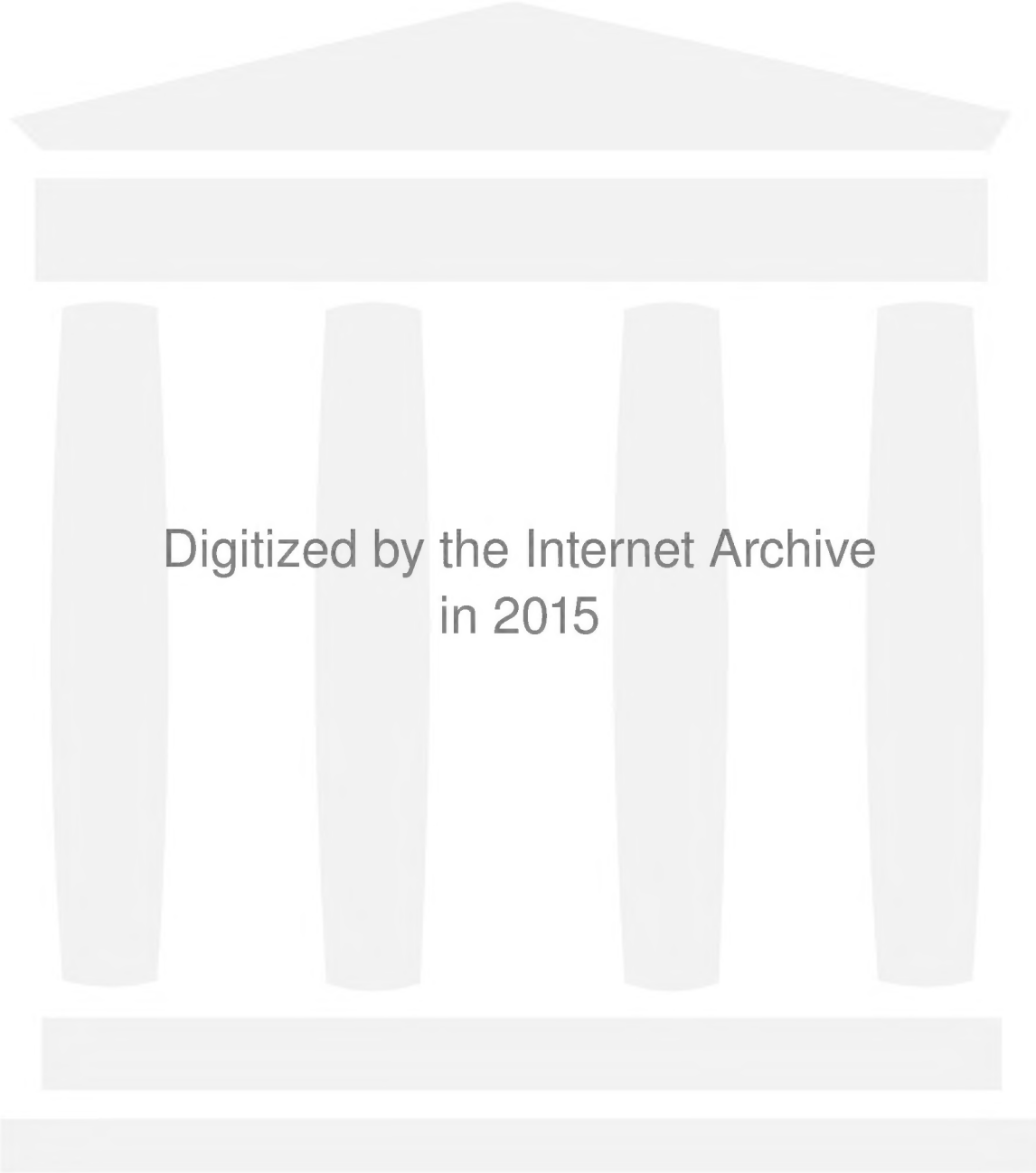
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FINAL REPORT

PENNSYLVANIA STATE TEMPORARY COMMISSION
ON THE
CONDITIONS OF THE URBAN COLORED POPULATION
TO THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE
COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
JANUARY, 1943

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STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

FINAL REPORT

OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA STATE TEMPORARY
COMMISSION ON THE CONDITIONS OF THE
URBAN COLORED POPULATION

To The
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Of The
State
Of
PENNSYLVANIA

January, 1943

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MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

E. Washington Rhodes, Chairman

Franklin Spencer Edmonds, Member of the Senate, Vice-Chairman

R. Maurice Moss, Secretary

Homer S. Brown, House of Representatives

George B. Scarlett, Member of the Senate

A. Evans Kephart, Member of the Senate

Wayne L. Hopkins

Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill

Lewis G. Hines, Secretary, Department of Labor and Industry

Mrs. Maude B. Coleman

Mrs. S. Willie Layton

Mark S. James, Secretary, Department of Commerce

Mrs. Nellie Ha'Zell

Reverend Marshall L. Shepard

Dr. George L. Winstead

EXECUTIVE STAFF OF THE COMMISSION
Laurence Foster, Executive Director

Julo K. Lott
Assistant Executive Director

Richard Langston
Research Assistant

J. Edwin Hamilton
Research Assistant

Charles A. Shorter
Research Assistant

Miss Eleanor Hill
Research Assistant

Mrs. Naomi L. Cheatham
Office Secretary

INTRODUCTION

In 1880, Negroes were 2.0% of the total population of the State; again, in 1890, the percentage was the same. In 1900, Negroes constituted 2.5% of the State's total population, and in 1910, they remained 2.5%. In the next decade, during and immediately following the period of the World War, which occasioned a shortage of European labor, Negroes migrated here in large numbers so that, by 1920, Negroes were 3.3% of the total population. Business establishments continued to need Negro labor so that whereas in 1920, there were 8,431,245 white and 284,568 colored inhabitants in the State; in 1930, there were 9,192,602 white and 431,257 colored inhabitants; the Negro was 4.5% of the total population. Whereas the white population of the State increased only 9% from 1920 to 1930, the Negro population increased 51.5%. In 1930, there were more Negroes in Pennsylvania than there were in either Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma, or West Virginia. In 1930, Pennsylvania had the largest Negro population of any "northern" state. In 1940, there were 470,172 Negroes in the State; they constituted 4.74% of the total population. Due to the war effort, several official estimates indicate that there has been a considerable increase in the Negro population of the State.

As has been indicated, up to the decades preceeding World War I, Negroes were a rather small part of the State's total population. However, when they migrated here in large numbers, they came to a State in which there were already many dis-

criminatory patterns. These migrants were destined to become the basis of many socio-economic maladjustments. Even though the majority of Negro citizens of the State were underprivileged in normal times, the depression and recession years brought their problem to focus.

As compared with other citizens, the Negro's unemployment rates became disproportionately high and consequently his income was sub-standardly low. The employment situation was so serious that, for many periods during the past decade, more than one-half of the Negroes of the State were receiving funds, goods, and services from public and private charity. The incidence of disease and mortality rates became excessively high; health and medical facilities and services were disproportionately inadequate. Approximately three-fourths of the Negro housing accommodations were sub-standard. There was an inadequacy of recreational facilities; there were inequalities in educational opportunities; family disorganization increased; and crime and delinquency rates were distressingly high. In realization of these facts, and having seen the success of the commissions of New York, and New Jersey, the Honorable Bodies and His Excellency created this Commission as is herein set forth:

ACT NO. 192

Of The

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

"Creating a temporary commission to examine, report upon and recommend measures to improve the economic, cultural, health and living conditions of the urban colored population of the State, and asking an appropriation of the expenses of such a commission."

The General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania hereby enacts as follows:

Section 1. A temporary State commission is hereby created, consisting of three Senators and three other members to be appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate, at least two of whom shall be of the colored race; three members of the House of Representatives and three other persons to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, at least two of whom shall be of the colored race; and three other members to be appointed by the Governor, at least two of whom shall be of the colored race; to examine and report upon the economic, health, and living conditions of the urban colored population of the State, and to recommend such measures as such commission may deem necessary to improve such conditions and to secure to the urban colored population of the State, equal opportunity with the general population thereof for self-support and economic and cultural development to the extent, if any, that such opportunity does not exist.

Temporary
commission
created.

Member-
ship.

Purpose.

Section 2. Such commissions shall elect a chairman and a vice-chairman from its own members and may employ counsel and such other assistants as may be needed and may fix their compensation within the amounts made available by appropriation therefor. Such commission may meet anywhere in the State, may take testimony and subpoena witnesses and require the production of books, papers, and records.

Officers
and
Assistants.

Method of
Operation,
and Powers.

Section 3. The members of such Commission shall receive no compensation for their services but shall be entitled to their necessary traveling and hotel expenses incurred in the performance of their duties.

Receive
Expenses
only.

Section 4. Such commission shall make a report to the next session of the General Assembly, and shall include in such report such amendments or additions to or revision of the law, and such other measures as the commission deems necessary to carry its recommendations into effect.

Report.

Section 5. The sum of fifteen thousand dollars (\$15,000), or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated from any money in the State Treasury not otherwise appropriated, payable on requisition of the chairman of such commission on the warrant and audit of the Auditor General.

\$10,000.00
appropri-
ated for
purpose.
(See ap-
proval.)

Section 6. This act shall take effect immediately upon final enactment.

APPROVED - The 12th day of June, A. D. 1939, in the sum of \$10,000.00. I withhold my approval from the remainder of said appropriation because of insufficient State revenue."

(signed) ARTHUR H. JAMES

Because of the lack of sufficient time and money with which to fulfill its duties and expectancies, the work of the Commission was extended during the 1941-1943 biennium. This extension enabled the Commission to enlarge very greatly the scope of its work and to render some valuable practical services to the urban colored population.

The Members of the 1939-41 Commission were:

E. Washington Rhodes, Member, House of Representatives, Chairman
 Franklin Spencer Edmonds, Member of the Senate; Vice-chairman
 R. Maruice Moss, Secretary
 Homer S. Brown, Member, House of Representatives
 Richard P. Brown, Secretary, Department of Commerce (resigned)
 Mrs. Maude B. Coleman
 Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill
 Lewis G. Hines, Secretary, Department of Labor and Industry
 Wayne L. Hopkins
 A. Evans Kephart, Member of the Senate
 Mrs. S. Willie Layten
 Herbert E. Millen (resigned)
 George B. Scarlott, Member of the Senate
 Frank G. Speck, (resigned)
 Raymond C. Webster, Member, House of Representatives

The staff during this period was as follows: Laurence Foster, Executive Director; Donald W. Wyatt, Assistant Executive Director; J. Edwin Hamilton, Research Assistant; Mrs. Eleanor Hill Oak, Research Assistant; Charles A. Shorter, Research Assistant; Mrs. Susie Taylor Tobias, Office Secretary; the following were associated with the Commission in the Pittsburgh area: Reginald Johnson, Technical Consultant, Jule K. Lott,

Research Assistant and Mrs. Rebekah McKinney, Research aid and Office Secretary.

As is indicated in numerous places throughout this report, in addition to your staff, many persons of both races have made valuable contributions to the research of the Commission. Acknowledgements have been made in some instances in the body of this report; others have been thanked through other means. However, though technical research is an indispensable first step, it is but one of the many requirements involved in the instructions given your Commission by the Honorable Bodies and His Excellency. Some of these requirements are expressed and implied in the program of the staff of your Commission which was instructed not only to examine and report upon but also to make recommendations designed to improve the conditions of the Negroes of the State. Making recommendations involve many factors other than mere abstract facts and principles. In this area, space will permit the mentioning of only a comparatively few persons who have made contributions to the work of your Commission:

Prof. William C. Ash
 Dr. Robert W. Bagnall
 Rev. J. J. Banks
 Mr. Quinn R. Banks
 Dr. John H. Brodhead
 Rev. L. G. Carr
 Father T. L. Caution
 Mrs. Thomas D. Clayton
 Dr. Charles H. Crampton
 Mrs. Arthur U. Crosby
 Rev. E. Luther Cunningham
 Mr. Tanner G. Duckery
 Mr. George W. Elliott
 Dr. George F. Ellison
 Mr. Orrin C. Evans
 Prof. Alexander H. Frey
 Mr. Harrison W. Fry
 Mr. Joseph R. Fugett

Mr. Eustace Gay
 Mr. Chester Hayes
 Prof. Rex B. Hersey
 Mr. Leon J. Hill
 Mr. Walker K. Jackson
 Mr. Vernon R. James
 Mr. Everett W. Johnson
 Mr. Levi Jolly
 Mr. Ralph H. Jones
 Mr. Francis Fisher Kane
 Mrs. George M. Keiser
 Dr. Charles A. Lewis
 Mrs. Elcora McClane
 Mr. John McGinnis
 Mr. Irving K. Merchant
 Mr. Thomas A. Merriweather
 Dr. George E. Nitzsche
 Mr. Theodore R. Penny

Mrs. Helen Lee Pinkett
 Mr. James M. Reid
 Dr. Harvey J. Reynolds
 Mr. Hobson R. Reynolds
 Rev. M. C. Spann
 Mr. Leon T. Stern
 Mr. Leon Sneed

Mr. William L. Warrick
 Prof. Frank D. Watson
 Dr. Daniel A. Wilson
 Mr. Clarence R. Whyte
 Mr. Thomas Wallace Swann
 Rev. Dr. Edgar C. Young
 Mrs. Edward Ingersoll

To all of these persons, the staff of the Commission is very grateful.

Your Commission was authorized by the General Assembly and His Excellency "to examine, * * report upon, * * and to make recommendations" regarding the unequal sufferings of the Negro population. In so doing, the Commission developed a ten point program which may be briefly summarized as follows: (1) It has conducted research in every major area of Negro life which may properly be regarded as within the scope of legislation and administration. (a) First-hand studies were made by the staff; in addition, there were twenty-one volunteer workers who devoted varying amounts of time to research, (b) There were mutually cooperative research projects conducted by the staff and some professors and students of Haverford, Swarthmore, the University of Pennsylvania and other institutions of higher learning. (c) Sixty-three persons of State and national importance prepared special statements, studies, and exhibits for the Commission. After having completed the research, conclusions and recommendations were drawn; (d) these findings were validated in terms of the wisdom of lay and professional men and women of both races whose interests and ministries cover the fields treated in the FINAL REPORT. This examining process is still continuing. For this purpose, scores of conferences have been held all over the State. Numerous letters have been

written to important persons all over the State and nation seeking their advice on the wisdom of certain findings of the Commission.

Having determined the significant facts and what to do about them, (2) these findings have been publicized in: the Negro and white press, mass meetings, special religious, fraternal, civic, educational, health and medical, and other groups. Your Commission conducted three fact-finding conferences in Cheyney, Harrisburg, and Pittsburgh. (3) Upon request, educational, civic, fraternal, religious, and other groups have been provided with the findings of the Commission as a basis of their deliberation and action. Both Negro and white groups have found this service of the Commission very valuable. (4) Whenever responsible citizens and agencies have requested it, the Commission has coordinated the efforts of groups designed to improve the conditions of Negroes. The acknowledged need for this service in many localities is considerable. If the Commission had a larger staff and more funds, it could render an even more valuable service in this regard. (5) In smaller towns, groups have been formed and given suggestive programs for study and action along interracial lines. In cooperation with the Department of Welfare, this work needs to be greatly extended. (6) Closely related to this effort is the NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCIL which is designed to bring together all racial, cultural, educational, civic, and religious groups in a given neighborhood for the purpose of solving some common problem. Unlike other services, the aim is merely to facilitate the program of such organizations rather than to attempt to

organize and direct their program. Here, the professional worker atmosphere is entirely absent; the neighborhood itself is functioning.

(7) Though the Commission has not been charged with the responsibility of improving conditions among Negroes, its inquiries have often been conducted in such a manner as to lead to improvements. The staff of the Commission has conferred with scores of representatives of private, semi-public, and public agencies and organizations serving considerable Negroes. The results of these numerous conferences have ranged from employment to the elimination or minimizing of discrimination. Constant checking, reporting, conferring, and experimentation are necessary in hundreds of instances where discrimination is practiced. This is one of the most valid reasons for the Commission. Admitting that there is a need for new legislation, by far the most important need is constant checking on definition of administrative, judicial, legislative and other procedures pertaining to public agencies and organizations. In many respects, the same thing holds for tax-aided agencies and institutions. In the private field, constant arbitration is very much needed. One of the most effective aspects of the Commission's work has been the ample demonstration of the fact that in several fields, constancy, repetition, checking, reporting and re-checking are often necessary to secure equal opportunities for the Negro population. On the other side of the picture, because Negroes resent these injustices keenly and because of their determination to secure justice, unless there is effective interracial approaches to the solution of

some of the difficulties and unless there is observable improvement, many undesirable events may occur. Racial tension in several parts of the state are far from safe. Prevention is the procedure recognized by your Commission as being most effective.

(8) With full approval and cooperation with Negro agencies, the Commission has developed and presented plans for the coordination, expansion, and improvement of Negro welfare, educational, health and medical institutions toward the end that they may render more effective services to the Negro population of the State. Further, at numerous times and in scores of instances, white agencies serving Negroes have requested the advice of the Commission's staff relative to problems which confront them pertaining to Negroes. In Philadelphia, Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, there are Negroes who can effectively render most of this type of service. However, in other areas, the work of the Commission and that of the Department of Welfare constitute the major sources of help along these lines.

(9) Without in any way duplicating but always supplementing the work of other agencies, the Commission has given much of its time to those problems exclusively affecting Negroes so far as the war is concerned. This service has received considerable support and cooperation from both races.

(10) Given the vast collection of data on Negro life in the State and nation, given the direct and continuous relationship with scores of nationally known experts who helped the staff of the Commission do its research, served as consultants, prepared exhibits and other special documents for the Commission,

and given the established relationship with scores of Negro and white organizations and agencies serving and reaching directly the general public, it was only logical that the Commission comprehend post-war planning. The body of the FINAL Report, its Conclusions, and Recommendations contain definite materials on post-war planning as it pertains to the Negro and others whose socio-economic status are similar to that of Negroes.

In view of the foregoing and pursuant to your instructions, your Commission presents to your Honorable Bodies and His Excellency the following Conclusions and Recommendations:

CONCLUSIONS

History

I.

Although slavery existed in Pennsylvania, there were those who, for various reasons, opposed it. The financial unprofitableness of slavery was most admirably demonstrated by Benjamin Franklin. Practically, this was known by most frugal slave holders. By precept and example the Quakers and some other Christians taught that slavery was contrary to the will of God.

II.

Chiefly through the influence of the Quakers, anti-slavery sentiment began to crystallize so that this Commonwealth was the first colony to abolish slavery. Moreover, Pennsylvania citizens were most vigorous in helping to eradicate slavery from the nation.

III.

That the Quakers and other Pennsylvania white people played a leading part in the abolition of slavery in America is well known. It is to be regretted that so many authors of social science texts, now used in our educational institutions, do not properly evaluate the contributions of these great patriots. All too frequently, scholars fail to discover and portray universal human values, that is, the essence of learning.

However, too few people of either race know that Pennsylvania Negroes also contributed much to the abolition movement. At personal sacrifice, countless numbers of Pennsylvania Negroes fed, clothed, sheltered, and gave financial aid to fleeing slaves. Many of them were "conductors" and otherwise participants in the Underground Railroad. Negro leaders, to name only a few such as Richard Allen, Absalom Jones, the Motts, John B. Vashon, Robert Purvis, Martin R. Delany, and Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, wrote, lectured, solicited funds, and otherwise greatly promoted the cause of abolition. Negroes like James Forten, Senior; William Whipper, Stephen Smith, and William Still not only lectured against slavery and created sentiment against it but they gave, what in their day was regarded as, very large sums of money to the cause of abolition.

The forbearance of the Negro citizenry and the statesmanship of Negro anti-slavery leaders were taxed to their limits. There were white people who were not particularly defenders of the slave system as such but who, on political and other grounds, opposed the presence of anti-slavery movements in Pennsylvania. Included in this group were many persons of great influence.

There were many other whites who, on economic and racial grounds, vehemently detested the residence of Negroes in Pennsylvania. These people caused many street fights, riots, and mobs. They burned the homes of many Negroes and forced them to leave their jobs. Of much more historic permanence, is the fact that these people were sufficiently vocal to preserve and expand all types of discrimination against Negroes. Strangely enough, they were not in the majority, but their sentiment seemed, too often, to determine and control public sentiment with reference to the status of Negro citizens.

Added to these great burdens, there was another of a more heart-rending type. There were many intelligent, well-meaning, law-abiding, and very influential white persons, often identified with anti-slavery movements and in the forefront thereof, who desired to see slavery abolished but who also wanted to colonize all Negroes somewhere outside of the borders of the United States. In rough terms, Abraham Lincoln, most dearly beloved by Negroes, may be placed in this category. The manner in which these Negro men and women overcame moral indifference, non-violent opposition, mob violence, and anti-colonization movements greatly increases their moral and intellectual statures. They too are immortal.

IV.

Though the history of the Negro in Pennsylvania is replete with thousands of instances of discriminations which still exist, though these discriminations have been, and still are, far greater than any other racial group has had to bear; nevertheless, Pennsylvania has enabled its Negro population to become worthy citizens; many of them have been successful and some of them have even achieved greatness.

To name a few of them: Richard Allen founded the African Methodist Episcopal denomination which is today the largest of all Negro branches of Methodism. James Forten, Sr., merchant, writer, inventor, and patriot, because of his national standing as a merchant, inventor and manufacturer, was one of the most influential men of his day, irrespective of race. James McKee, the first Negro millionaire, was among the most wealthy of his contemporaries. It is reliably reported that Nicholas Biddle was the first casualty of the Civil War. William C. Boliver was a leading American bibliophile. He won many distinctions. His was nationally known as the best of all contemporaneous Lincoln collections. Henry C. Tanner was one of America's greatest painters. Henry T. Burleigh's music has endeared him to his race and nation. The world acknowledges Marian Anderson as its greatest contralto.

The lives of these Negro men and women challenge Negro leadership to achieve in spite of all handicaps; they challenge white Pennsylvanians to live up to the most noble of their traditions.

Housing

I.

In spite of the increased volume of Negro employment, due to the increased cost of living and the low income received by Negro workers, the Negro population is still sub-standard. Because of sub-standard income and the pattern of residential segregation with its consequent artificial housing scarcity, admitting a few exceptions, Negroes are forced to occupy the more blighted and deteriorated areas and the most sub-standard dwellings of any neighborhood in which they live. As compared with other citizens, Negro occupied dwellings are not in good condition, they are old, damp, either difficult or expensive to heat, poorly lighted, poorly ventilated, overcrowded, inadequately serviced with bathing and toilet facilities, are below standard in the quality and quantity of modern conveniences and cost more to occupy. As compared with other neighborhoods, the typical Negro neighborhood constitutes greater fire, health, and moral hazards; its recreational facilities are more inadequate; it is inadequately policed; it is more noisy and dirty.

II.

Consequently, either because of overcrowding or bad physical condition before the war, approximately three-fourths of the Negro-occupied dwellings were sub-standard. Due to the fact that the Negro population of the State is 99% non-farm, its housing problems are disproportionately distressing on account of migration caused by the war effort. Investigations have shown that in no area has defense or war housing been adequate; it has been even more inadequate for Negroes; with the exception of the city of Pittsburgh, defense or war housing for Negroes has been practically insignificant.

III

85.1% of the Negroes in the State are tenants. Considering the state of repair of the given rented structure, its conveniences, its location, and the amount of public services rendered, Negroes pay higher rents than other citizens in proportion to values received.

IV.

What happens when the Negro attempts to obtain better housing? Some real estate boards have an unwritten agreement that their members shall not sell or rent to Negroes in blocks in which there are not already some Negro residents. Many other realtors who are not members of such boards follow the same policy because they feel that their white clients would be displeased should they do otherwise. Many banks, building and loan associations, and insurance companies tend to follow this same pattern. Most often, it is the speculator who "breaks the ice". It is well known that his prices are high and his methods often unscrupulous.

Even so, in numerous instances, many types of racial friction occur when Negroes move into blocks in which all residents are white. In some instances, Negroes have been forced to move because of actual or threatened mob violence. However, investigations have shown that such actions could often have been greatly reduced or kept from occurring if the agencies of justice had discharged their duties faithfully and impartially. Nevertheless, in the majority of instances in which Negroes seek better housing in blocks where all residents are white, no violent disorders occur.

V.

With reference to home ownership, your Commission found that many money markets, whether private or federal, are less favorable to prospective Negro home buyers than to other citizens. Moreover, while there are some remarkable exceptions, those who control the money markets do much, directly and indirectly, to enforce residential segregation.

Nevertheless, in spite of hardships, many Negro citizens have become home owners. Considering their numerous handicaps, they have done very well. In the decade between 1920 and 1930, Pennsylvania Negroes made the greatest proportional increase in home ownership of any non-southern state. However, since 1890, the rate of Negro home ownership has been below that of whites and Negroes throughout the nation. In 1940, 22.8% of the Negro-occupied dwellings throughout the nation were owner-occupied. Pennsylvania Negroes owned only 14.9% of the dwellings in which they lived. Nevertheless, the cost of the "average" Negro home in Pennsylvania greatly exceeds that of the "average" Negro home throughout the nation.

VI.

In terms of number, intensity, and specific importance for the duration, violations of the various housing and sanitation codes by both tenants and landlords, Negroes very much included, constitute the most serious handicaps to Negro housing problems.

Since 85% of Negro-occupied dwellings are tenant-occupied, and since approximately three-fourths of all Negro-occupied dwellings are sub-standard, these problems are more serious for Negroes than for the general population. Due to the war effort, the problem is greatly intensified.

VII.

Since the war accentuates the importance of the various housing and sanitation codes, their more rigid enforcement would greatly improve the status of Negro health, moral, and housing problems. Nevertheless, because Negro housing is both disproportionately scarce and substandard, and because of the very nature of housing and sanitation codes, there is a point beyond which the enactment and enforcement of these codes cease to be a positive solution to housing problems.

Hence, be their enforcement ever so important, such an exercise of police power is necessarily negative; it tends to protect and preserve housing but it does not create it. Thus, these enforced housing codes which render most service to the common good are those which equitably guarantee reasonable standards of health and safety for occupants and also provide fair profits to landlords and financiers. This delicate balance must be maintained for, all too soon, one reaches a point where the higher the standards of housing and sanitation and the more rigid their enforcement, the higher the costs of construction, maintenance, taxes, and financing; these, in their turn, increase occupancy costs. Obviously, so far as lowest income groups are concerned, if housing is to be adequate and decent, public and private subsidy must convert, rehabilitate and for the most part, build the necessary housing for such people.

VIII

The costs of maintaining adequate police protection, judicial, penal, and correctional facilities and services are much greater in slum areas than in other neighborhoods. Likewise, the costs of fire-fighting facilities and services, and tax-supported health facilities and services are greater in slum areas than in others. Therefore, aside from the waste and misdirection of human energy of the people directly involved, society pays a much greater cost for permitting sub-standard housing to exist than it would cost to help provide decent housing for its more underprivileged members.

IX.

Fortunately, there are in the State, many examples of the way in which public and private capital can cooperate in the solution of housing problems for the lowest income groups. First, there is the good example of privately subsidized, but not pauperized housing, afforded by the Octavia Hill Association of Philadelphia. From the point of view of sound business on a charity basis, thrift, tenant education and social service as they relate to housing problems, this Association and others provide valuable experience upon which to work in the post war period. This Association retains, for persons in the lowest income group, the advantages of living in separate and detached dwellings which for many reasons will always have certain specific advantages. Moreover, it provides ample basis upon which to test and evaluate the various rehabilitation plans. Second, there are the various types of limited-dividend plans which limit the profits to be made from the rental or sale of homes for low income groups. Third, on the public side, but which includes some private finance, there are the various Federal housing authorities located throughout the State. Their experiences will be basic. Certainly, there is enough charity, wisdom, and social justice in the State to help provide decent housing for those who cannot otherwise afford it.

HealthI.

The sub-standard income which characterizes the majority of the Negro citizens of the State means being ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed. These maladjustments combined with their attenuating circumstances, render the vitality of the Negro population so low that it is far more susceptible to disease than the general population. Therefore, making due allowances for ignorance of health habits, and also allowing for the use of home and patent remedies, so common to all persons of similar socio-economic background, as should be expected, Negro morbidity and mortality rates are disproportionately high.

II.

Often, people are sick because they are poor, as well as poor because they are sick. Sub-standard income means not only progressively increasing health hazards but also an increasing inability to pay the cost of health and medical care. Hence, granted a knowledge of and a desire to make use of general preventive health and medical facilities and services, to the extent that these are purchasable, the Negro population must suffer more than the general population.

III.

Consequently, although there has been a remarkable decrease in the death rates of Pennsylvania Negroes, during the last fifty years, they have maintained death rates which exceed national white and Negro death rates. Practically, this means

that in spite of the enormous health and medical advantages of the State, the death rates of Pennsylvania Negroes are higher than those of southern Negroes.

IV.

During the last thirty years, when measured in absolute terms, the reduction of the Negro death rate in the State has been more than twice that of white citizens. Nevertheless, as compared with the relative decrease of white death rates, Pennsylvania Negroes have made comparatively slow progress. For example, in 1910, the death rate for Negroes in Pennsylvania was 1.55 times that of Pennsylvania whites; in 1920 and 1930, it was 1.56 and 1.53 times, respectively, that of Pennsylvania whites. In 1940, it was 1.36 times that of Pennsylvania whites.

V.

Having studied the adequacy of health and medical facilities and services, largely in terms of their pre-war status, your Commission finds that, especially with reference to Negroes, the adequacy of health and medical facilities and services cannot be judged completely in terms of their sufficiency of number, amount, variety, distribution, and the degree of excellence thereof. Particularly in the case of Negroes and many individuals of other racial groups of similar socio-economic status, one must take into account such factors as: (1) the amount and quality of free and part-free medical and health facilities and services as well as the ability of the various income groups to pay for these services; (2) working and housing conditions with respect to health, safety, and sanitation; (3) the extent to which hygienic habits are practiced; (4) the degree to which there is a lack of confidence in and antipathy toward established health and medical facilities and services, and the degree to which self-medication, patent medicines, and "quack doctors" are used; and (5) the degree to which existing health and medical facilities and services are available to all persons irrespective of race.

After having evaluated all of the evidence at hand, your Commission finds that there is a shortage of medical and health facilities and services for Negro citizens. In the very nature of things, the war tends simultaneously to increase medical needs and reduce the facilities and services with which to meet them; consequently, the shortage becomes increasingly difficult.

VI.

As has been emphasized before, much of the shortage of medical facilities, with reference to Negroes, is due to their lack of money with which to pay for these services. Insurance is the universally accepted method of covering health and accident risks. Nevertheless, though there are worthy examples to the contrary, most insurance companies, through various legal technicalities discriminate against Negroes.

Investigations regarding the various types of group hospital plans reveal that they impair their effectiveness and appeal to Negroes by their lack of a sufficiently wide range of coverage, their discriminations against competent Negro members of the medical profession, and because some of the participating hospitals restrict and limit Negro patients. Nevertheless, the best of these plans must be recommended along with other plans, for some methods must be found which will enable the Negro population to bear a larger share of the cost of its medical care.

VII.

Even though our medical schools are both tax-free and tax-aided, some of them seem to have restrictive quotas for Negroes which are far lower than their proportion in the total population. Other medical schools exclude Negroes entirely.

VIII.

Although the hospitals of the State are tax-free, many of them tax-aided, and others tax-supported, excepting those hospitals staffed by Negroes, there are less than thirty Negro professional employees in all of them. Moreover, omitting Negro-staffed hospitals, qualified Negro young women are not admitted to nurse training courses nor can competent Negro physicians serve as internes in these institutions. Only an insignificant number of Negro physicians have been given staff positions and have been permitted to treat their patients in these hospitals.

The Negro medical profession feels these handicaps keenly and emphasize the effects of such restrictions and exclusions on the health status of the Negro population. Above all, most of them deeply regret that such discriminatory acts should extend to health and medicine.

IX.

Chiefly because of the limitations placed upon Negro patients in some hospitals and because of the undue restrictions placed upon the Negro members of the medical profession, three Negro-staffed hospitals have been established in the State. In spite of their most urgent need of finances, they are doing fine work. Funds should be found to enable them to improve both the quality and quantity of their services.

Nevertheless, many leading citizens have observed that, through no fault of the Negro-staffed hospitals, there has been relatively little improvement in the eradication of the basic evils which gave rise to their establishment. Therefore, these persons feel that although much financial help should be given Negro-staffed hospitals, the major medical task of the Commonwealth is to foster those interracial measures which will tend greatly to reduce the restrictions and limitations placed upon Negro patients and members of the medical profession. Your Commission submits that now is a most propitious time for this type of expression of interracial goodwill and justice in the field of

RecreationI.

In Pennsylvania, as in the nation, the volume and variety of recreation is ample for the general population. In normal years, the nation spends approximately one-eighth of its total income for recreational purposes; per capita, Pennsylvania citizens spend their proportional share of this vast sum of money. Nevertheless, on the qualitative side, there is a shortage of recreational facilities and services for all the people. As compared with other citizens, because of the lack of funds, a narrower range of recreational interests, restrictions and exclusions in the use of available facilities and services, there is a greater shortage of qualitative recreational facilities and services for Negro than for white citizens of Pennsylvania.

II.

In hundreds of instances throughout the State, Negro citizens are restricted or excluded in the use of publicly owned and controlled recreational facilities and services. These rather obvious violations of the law are generally due to either or both misfeasance or malfeasance on the part of the personnel in charge of the respective facilities in which discriminations occur.

III.

Though varied in intensity and kind, in full violation of the State's Civil Rights Law, hundreds of commercial places of recreation restrict and exclude Negroes. Investigations have shown that, in general, such practices are poor business policy since those places which observe the law do not suffer financially therefrom. However, be financial and other considerations whatever they may, such practices are unlawful. It is incumbent upon your Honorable Bodies and His Excellency to enforce the law.

IV.

The most wholesome and educative recreational work is being done by private, tax-free, non-profit agencies and institutions. Howbeit, there are very serious handicaps regarding this class of facilities. First, there is a shortage of these more qualitative facilities for all the people. Second, only a few such agencies serve both races; those which do, most often place some type of restriction upon their respective Negro constituencies.

These discriminatory acts, being resented as they are by many Negroes, further limit the number of Negro participants. Whenever Negro resentment becomes crystallized, it, in turn, tends to discourage the number of agencies which may be inclined to serve both races. Third, were it desirable for all Negroes, in scores of municipalities in the State there are not enough Negroes to justify a first class all-Negro recreation center.

Moreover, this number is always diminished by the fact that in every such municipality, there are always a number of Negroes who protect what they call "donated segregation". However, rarely are such persons ever able to realize the type of center which they regard as approaching their ideal. Lincoln House in Pottsville is the only such center in the State. Although recreation is only a part of the program of Fellowship House in Philadelphia, its conception and administration of recreation is regarded as being of the democratic type.

Given these two exceptions, the already too few Negroes are further divided and reduced. Forth, in cities like Chester, Coatesville, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh, the number of all-Negro organizations promoting private, non-profit recreation is far too inadequate to meet the needs of their respective Negro populations. Their inadequacy arises out of several reasons, among the most practical is that the combined support of those Negroes who receive the benefits of these organizations and the whites who subsidize them has not as yet been sufficient. Hence, due to many complications, there is a serious shortage of the more qualitative and educative type of recreational facilities.

V.

A brief survey of the State's recreational needs and the available facilities and services to meet these needs unquestionably indicate that there should be a closer organic relationship between formal education and organized recreation. Education should be recreative and recreation should be educative. From the practical point of view of public expenditures, this can be somewhat easily done between the public schools and public recreation bureaus. Be it understood, however, that mere merger or close integration per se will not work miracles. It is assumed that there will be additional funds for the work which must be intelligently and democratically planned and executed. Next, on the basis of non-profit agencies, there should be very close coordination between the public schools and the bureaus of recreation on the one hand and private, tax-free, non-profit recreational agencies on the other. Such a plan properly conceived would be economical; it should tend to stress active and individual instead of passive and spectator participation in recreation; it would stress and encourage the use of leisure time for the promotion of physical and mental health; it would magnify the spiritual and aesthetic instead of the all too uncreative and dissipating types of recreation now engaged in by too large a number of people of both races. The recreation needs arising out of the war effort accentuate the urgency of such a program. Post-war planning demands it.

Crime and Delinquency

Negro delinquent and criminal rates range from two to nearly eight times their proportion in the general population. Taken per 100,000 population, the rate of law violation of Pennsylvania Negroes exceeds that of Negroes throughout the nation. Behavior, whether good or bad, is a function of the interaction of the individual and his environment. Such a point of view does not deny but rather admits personal responsibility for behavior; it does, however, emphasize properly the part which environment plays in determining behavior.

But by the time an offender is apprehended, arrested, brought to trial, and convicted it is often too late to rehabilitate him; only the more severe types of punishment are plausible. Partly because of the lameness of and blindness of justice but also partly because some almost irreparable harm has been done even before the first arrest, by the time an offender is apprehended, arrested, brought to trial, convicted, and punished the probabilities of his erring again are much greater than those of a person who has never been guilty of the first offense. The case of prevention is established. Upon these assumptions, there are several interrelated factors which underlie the excessive delinquency rates of law violation among Pennsylvania Negroes.

I.

Racial discrimination in the administration of justice tends to promote law violation among Negroes. As compared with other citizens, misfeasance and malfeasance are disproportionately frequent in the administration of the criminal law to Negro citizens. Discrimination is so universal and powerfully operative that neither the number of arrests and the alleged reasons therefor, nor the number of convictions and the severity thereof, nor yet the prison sentences, afford racially a proportionately accurate picture of the volume of Negro crime and delinquency.

Paradoxical as it may seem, with the exception of crimes against the person or property of whites, law enforcement involving Negroes is often too lax. Moreover, your Commission has been informed by reliable citizens that in nearly every municipality in the State "official protection" in certain forms of vice is the most frequent and often the only "political plum" given most Negro politicians.

As compared with mixed and all-white neighborhoods, all-Negro neighborhoods have an excessive number of tap rooms, unsupervised pool rooms, bawdy houses, gambling places, "boot-leg liquor places", and similar establishments which either tend to promote law violation or are themselves illegal.

Strangely enough, numerous groups of Negroes have often protested in vain to the agencies of justice regarding the establishment or existence of these types of places and influences in their respective communities.

In the enforcement of the law, legality must not ever be overlooked. In many instances, officers of the law have themselves been ruthless and illegal. The "right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures", is guaranteed all American citizens by the Fourth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. Without search warrants, and often without sufficient evidence of "suspect" or of provocation, policemen enter Negro homes, hotels, and other Negro-occupied dwellings and make mass arrests.

The "third degree", a means of obtaining testimony from an arrested person under duress by use of various forms of torture, is as ruthless as it is illegal. Needless to say, law enforcement officers should apply the best available scientific methods and procedures to bring culprits to justice in a legal manner.

"Cold storage", a method whereby arrested persons are "held incommunicado and are not permitted to see friends, relatives, or counsel for several days at a time and are not slated or brought before a magistrate during that time" is another form of illegality often committed by the agencies of justice.

In the case of "official protection", the "third degree" and "cold storage" the evidence seems to indicate that although both races suffer, Negro citizens suffer unequally therefrom. Your Commission submits that irrespective of race, there can be no excuse for illegality and ruthlessness on the part of the agencies of justice. The hatred and disrespect for the law resulting therefrom are always serious and enduring. They tend greatly to encourage recidivism.

II.

The growth and distribution of the Negro population in terms of place of birth and urbanization and such minor factors as the ratio between the sexes, number of males of certain age groupings, and related factors tend to promote crime and delinquency.

In the periods following World War I there was a large influx of poverty-stricken, untrained, and uneducated southern Negroes. The influx was so great that proportionately, there are today more out-of-state Negroes than out-of-state whites. Whereas the white population of the State increased only 9% from 1920 to 1930, the Negro population increased 51.5% during this period. In 1930, only 33.9% of Pennsylvania's Negro population was born in the State, whereas 79.0% of Pennsylvania's white population was born in the State. Only 7.4% of Pennsylvania's white population was born in other states

in the union; 14.4% of the State's white population was foreign-born. On the otherhand, 65% of Pennsylvania's Negro population was born in other states in the union and slightly more than 1% was foreign-born.

Unfortunately, long before the periods of sudden influx, discriminative patterns against Negroes had already been established in most municipalities of the State. Hence, these migrants fell heir to, and in many instances, gave an occasion for crystallization of discriminative practices against Negroes. Consequently, they were crowded into the already sub-standardly housed areas in which police protection, recreational facilities and other facilities and services were not commensurate with and properly adjusted to their needs. These migrants came from typically southern areas to a typically eastern area without sufficient transition in time or place. In a very large number of instances, they came from a rural to an urban industrial area and were ill-adjusted to their new environment which itself was, too often, very conducive to law violations.

Since the heavy industries, mining, and similar job situations induced Negroes to come to the State, the Negro population is (a) overwhelmingly urban; (b) in certain localities, there is a disparity between the sexes; and (c) in certain localities there is a larger percentage of Negro than white males of the crime committing age.

In 1920, the Negro population of the State was 15.7% rural and 84.3% urban. In 1930, 86.6% of the Negro population was urban, whereas only 66.9% of the white population was urban. For practical purposes, it would be more appropriate to add the urban and rural non-farm populations. In such a case, in 1930, the Negro population of the State was 99% non-farm; in 1940, it was 98.73% non-farm. Criminologists, jurists, social workers, sociologists, and others have long pointed out that urbanization and its consequent mechanization tend to increase the volume of crime. Bringing together, as it does, people of different racial, linguistic, religious, economic, and political ideologies, the city simultaneously increases the necessity for more laws and also the number of laws to be violated. Next, the high mobility of the city contributes to anonymity and impersonality, which in their turn, tend to weaken one's sense of responsibility to one's neighbor. These and other factors make it more difficult to enforce the law. Finally, a multiplicity of complex factors tend to develop in an urban population a greater "lack of respect for law" than is true of rural populations. In the very nature of the case, the war tends to increase and complicate these problems. Therefore, taking all population factors into consideration, according to established methods of interpretation, the composition, growth, and distribution of the State's Negro population is such that it tends to promote law violation.

III.

The occupational status of the Negro is related to the volume of Negro crime. Irrespective of interests, abilities, competency, and loyalty, Negroes have found it impossible to find responsible, well paying, and satisfying employment on a scale which is proportionate to their numbers in the total population.

Just as most types of apprehended law violations have a very definite adverse effect upon most types of occupational classifications, the unemployment of and menial employment of large numbers of persons due to racial or other unjust reasons will give rise to a lack of self-respect, community respect, and subsequent law violation.

IV.

Due to the inter-dependent factors involved in discrimination and also inadequacies for all citizens, as compared with whites, there is a greater lack of facilities and services for Negroes pertaining to the administration of criminal justice.

As compared with other citizens, (a) there is a general inadequacy of facilities and services antecedent to court appearance. (b) There is an inadequacy of facilities and services for dependent and neglected children who, too often, are associated with and given similar treatment to Negro delinquents. This itself, very often increases delinquency in that many such unfortunate dependent children become delinquents. (c) There is a lack of a sufficient variety and amount of penal facilities and services; (d) there is an inadequacy of parole, probation, and rehabilitative services and facilities. (e) In spite of the fact that the various volunteer defender agencies in the State are doing laudable work, their legal services for the indigent are inadequate. Moreover, the provisions which the courts of the State make for poverty-stricken defendants are also inadequate largely because the fees are too low to attract leading criminal lawyers; and often, because politics enter into the appointment of attorneys for the indigent.

V.

The existence of either or both physical and psychological segregation, all too common throughout the State especially in penal and correctional institutions, does great violence to the personalities of Negro delinquents and criminals and tends to increase their volume of law violations.

VI.

Due to discrimination and its many ramifications, the environmental and psychological background of the "average" Negro tends to promote excessive law violations.

In addition to the related factors mentioned or implied above, there are other important factors which increase the likelihood of law violations among Negroes. That the typical Negro is sub-marginal and marginal has been emphasized many times. Students of law violation all over the nation are agreed that the general breakdown of the American home and family relationships under the strain of the depression, the modern machine age, late hours, movies, automobiles and freedom of movement, etc., contribute more than any other factors to the volume of law violations. Through the death of one or both parents, the separation or desertion of one or both parents, and through the problems of unmarried mothers, there are proportionately fewer normal homes and family associations among Negroes than among the general population. The increased number of working mothers and the absence of many male relatives who are in the armed services tend to further complicate the problem. The consequent influences upon the excessively high delinquency rates among Negroes are well known.

It has been emphasized before that approximately three-fourths of all Negro-occupied dwellings are sub-standard and that Negroes live in the more blighted, and deteriorated neighborhoods. There is both room and land overcrowding which are harmful to health, morals, and morale. Recent studies have shown that the slum environment has a greater adverse effect on delinquency than the physical condition of the given sub-standard dwelling. In other words, slum and blighted areas, because of their corrupting influences, numerous centers of vice, inadequacy of recreational facilities, and disproportionately high percentage of broken homes, tend to promote law violation.

VII.

Be the above natural explanatory factors ever so unavoidable; human beings are more than the sum total of environmental factors; spiritual forces are also indispensable. Discriminatory forces have been sufficiently great to disillusion many Negroes; many of them have less practical belief in the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God than in former years. Consequently, the law abiding, self-respecting, and brotherly love influences of the church, religion, and God are less effective today than in former years. Disillusionment due to discriminatory forces both in and outside of established churches, have caused numerous colored citizens to seek strange faiths. Even though these faiths may serve as temporary emotional releases, their ethical influences on enlightened democratic citizenship are almost negative.

Thus, while there is need for more agencies to deal with delinquent Negro youths antecedent to court appearance, while there is need for better legal representation for the indigent, more enlightened judicial sympathies, admitting the need for more probation, parole, and other penal and correctional agencies and services, the fundamental need is to be sought elsewhere. The same determined social order, which makes the laws by which persons are adjudged criminal and delinquent and which designs the methods by which they are punished, should so condition the Commonwealth that Negroes can have a "proper sense of belonging" in every area of life guaranteed by the letter and the spirit of our constitution.

Therefore, your Commission submits that crime and delinquency rates, as they relate excessively to any racial group, are but symptoms of general social maladjustment. In order to remedy the situation, emphasis must be placed upon those constructive factors already within each of the several municipalities. Full social justice in citizenship, suitable employment, proper recreational facilities, better housing, and related improvements, will result in the eradication of excessive rates of Negro crime and delinquency. Our democracy must be implemented with sufficient justice, fair-mindedness, and brotherhood, to enable the rest of the citizens to give the Negro recognition commensurate with his merits in every area of life. Otherwise, there can be no significant improvement in the high incidence of crime and delinquency among Negroes.

Education

I.

Although, at one time in the history of Pennsylvania, it was a felony for a Negro "to be caught with a book in his hands", systematic education for Negroes was first developed in Pennsylvania. Even during slavery the Quakers established "charity schools" for free Negroes and mulattoes. After slavery the Quakers and a few other white religious groups established many other schools for Negroes. In addition, there were many schools supported by Negro churches.

These private schools did not withdraw from the field of Negro education until public education was able to assume its duty. Nor did Negro and white citizens cease establishing and maintaining private educational institutions whenever there was need. Some of these institutions such as (1) the Berean Manual Training and Industrial School, (2) the Cheyney Training School for Teachers, a State Teachers, (3) the Downingtown Industrial School, and (4) Lincoln University, each having its special mission, are still rendering valuable services to the Commonwealth.

II.

Since 1900, there has been a steady increase in the percentage of Negroes between the ages of five and twenty attending school. Many environmental factors, varying from truancy to the failure of the sum total of curricular and extra-curricular offerings to meet the interests and needs of a large number of Negro pupils, accumulate to produce the fact that Negro pupils tend to withdraw from school at a rate which exceeds that of the general population. This decline becomes more remarkable as Negro pupils approach the non-compulsory school age; it continues throughout the sphere of formal education.

In 1940, of the citizens who were twenty-five years of age and over, proportionately, there were seven times as many Negroes as native whites who had "no schooling". More than one-fourth of the Negro population, twenty-five years and over, had less than a fourth grade education. Proportionately, approximately three times as many native whites as Negroes had completed their secondary school education. The percentage of native whites who were graduates of colleges and universities was four times greater than that of Negroes.

III.

As compared with the general population, due to factors arising largely out of socio-economic conditions, Negro children of the elementary and secondary school levels are undernourished, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and over-age. These major problems are highly correlated with and contribute to many undesirable results including: low school grades, failures, retardation, misbehavior, and other anti-social problems, truancy, a high delinquency rate, and finally, withdrawal from school.

IV.

Excluding native ability, which, until science proves otherwise, we shall hold constant for all races, what a child does or fails to do in school is largely dependent upon his or her "outside of school" environment. Hence, given the more unfavorable socio-economic status of the Negro, as is to be expected, the educational achievement of Negro elementary and secondary school pupils is below that of the general population. The percentage of retardation is greater among Negro than white pupils; consequently, Negro pupils are somewhat below the median promotion rate of the general population.

V.

Far outweighing all other handicaps to the scholastic achievement of Negro pupils is the fact that they soon learn that, as compared with white pupils, success in school criteria does not yield them commensurate results in the educational, economic, social, religious, and political areas of American life. Admitting that Negro pupils must be urged to achieve despite these handicaps, it must be remembered that one can hardly expect more than a very few pupils of any race to achieve success in school for its own sake and regardless of the reward it brings. Your Commission submits that the citizens of the State must undertake the more human task of setting in motion such measures as are necessary to enable Negro pupils to receive the fullest benefits to be derived from excellent accomplishments.

VI.

In the considered opinions of many teachers, administrators, store keepers in the immediate vicinity of schools, school bus drivers, street car operators, policemen on duty in school zones, and others who are in a position to observe the conduct of the pupils of both races, as compared with other children, Negro children present more problems of misconduct. It is significant to point out that while the vast majority of Negro children and children of other races are never delinquent, the failure of the citizens of the State to apply the principles of Christianity and democracy to Negroes has created an environment for Negro pupils which tends to promote delinquent attitudes in them with much more definiteness and with greater severity than is true in the case of white pupils. Even the school constituency, too much an echo of prevailing public opinion, often promotes delinquent attitudes in Negro pupils. This it does not only through direct curricular and extra-curricular discriminatory acts against Negro pupils, but also indirectly, by not electing or appointing a reasonable number of competent Negroes to local and county boards of education, by the disproportionately meager and differential appointment of Negro administrators and teachers, and by the use of text-books which either deride, neglect, or otherwise emphasize the accomplishments of other races to the detriment of Negroes. Consequently, the school is a part of both the cause and effect of the problem side of the Negro child. Your Commission finds that these handicaps are comparatively easy to reduce to a minimum and that by so doing the school will make its greatest contribution to the future of American democracy. In undertaking such a task, it must be kept in mind that this type of ethical idealism is most practical, for, in just such proportions as the school discriminates, it reduces its effectiveness as a moral and educational force.

VII.

There are tax-free and tax-aided educational institutions on the secondary level and tax-free and tax-aided institutions of higher learning which do not admit qualified Negro students.

VIII.

Excepting the educational institutions of the State whose student bodies are colored, there are less than twenty Negroes teaching regular subjects in the secondary schools and institutions for higher learning in the State. Your Commission submits that these educational institutions should teach practical lessons in democracy by placing an equitable number of qualified Negroes on their faculties. This proposal for Negro teachers arises first and last out of present and future needs of the students of both races.

IX.

Due to many pre-war defects, the war, and post-war necessities, the public school curriculum needs to be revised. Much emphasis should be placed upon such subjects as: consumer education, the elements of public welfare and public administration, and intercultural education. Moreover, some new services are needed with which to implement the curriculum suggested.

Although adult education along the ordinary "day school" lines must be extended, the war and post-war needs require a wide range of training and education at the level of folk-education. This type of education is not only the most effective means of enabling the citizenry to promote war aims but it is also the most efficient method of helping citizens to adjust themselves to post-war conditions.

X.

Given the proper machinery, the schools can render a most unique service through the discovery and preliminary treatment of pee-delinquents. This program would reduce many serious problems of the school itself and would greatly reduce juvenile delinquency and crime.

XI.

In the field of higher education, Negroes suffer limitations and restrictions of a kind and degree not experienced by the general population. In this regard, most colleges and universities of the State have been needlessly too conventional. They have been followers and promoters of prejudiced thought and action instead of being leaders in the discovery and exemplification of truth. On the other hand, the State Teachers College at Cheyney and Lincoln University,

two Negro institutions of higher education, provide an atmosphere of freedom from restrictions and exclusions. On these and other grounds, these two institutions offer Negroes advantages which they cannot now obtain elsewhere in the State. However, they are greatly handicapped by the lack of sufficient funds with which to do the best work of which they are capable. Hence, until the prevailing prejudices and financial barriers are removed, it is essential that these two institutions be given more generous support by the State in order that the Negro may be placed more nearly on an equal plane with whites in developing competent leadership.

XII.

Nevertheless, none of the educational limitations placed upon Negroes have been insurmountable. Thousands of Negroes have done the work of the public schools remarkably well. Many of them have been outstanding in extra-curricular and curricular activities and have been honored therefor by school boards, administrators, teachers, school mates, alumni, and their respective communities. Despite their shortcomings, the public schools of the State have given many Negroes their only glimpse of the true meaning of what equal opportunity means in this great democracy. Indeed these are often their most cherished memories. Likewise, in spite of the weaknesses of institutions of higher education, scores of Negroes have been graduated from them. Moreover, many of them have won distinctions at these institutions ranging from the captaincy of athletic teams to Phi Beta Kappa and honorary degrees. In short, the educational institutions of the State have kept alive the chief purposes for which they were founded and are being maintained. Lest they become too conservative and mere propaganda agencies, they must now be called upon to maintain themselves permanently on the higher grounds upon which they have all too infrequently stood. It is incumbent upon Your Honorable Bodies and His Excellency, and through you, to the people of the State to require that the educational institutions of Pennsylvania teach democracy and Christianity by precept and example.

In order for the school to do its work most effectively it must bring itself into closer relationship to the home and community. Many of the difficulties, whether academic or disciplinary, which beset the school could be greatly reduced by a closer relationship between the home and the school. Knowing a child's native ability, aptitude, achievement in subject matter, interests and abilities in extra-curricular activities, etc., have long ago been regarded as basic to successful teaching. Educators have developed methods of measuring and estimating these capacities and interests. In addition thereto, there must be added a knowledge of the home life, family relationships, and the community background of the child. Techniques for collecting, recording, and interpreting these data must be adopted to school use.

It is the duty of the school to make use of the entire community resources not merely in the solution of some problem in social pathology, but also as a positive method of teaching and learning. This not merely includes relating theoretical learning to life situations illustrated by teaching materials of the community but also it involves a program of helping each student to integrate himself into his or her community thereby helping to make each student a useful and responsible citizen. Although these considerations are pertinent to the general population, considering the environmental background of the "average" Negro and in view of the fact that the vast majority of the teachers of Negro children are white, it seems very necessary that the public schools undertake the suggested task with much seriousness.

XIII.

Education "as usual" is impossible during the war. The first duty of education is to help win the war. This it is doing admirably. In the meantime, while making numerous positive contributions toward winning the war, education must be vigilant in the preservation of all civil liberties which are consistent with winning the war. So far as Negroes and all minorities are concerned, education must teach and practice the democracy for which we are fighting; otherwise, we may win the war but lose the peace.

Employment

I.

The present unfavorable economic status of the Negro in Pennsylvania arises out of more than two centuries of circumscription, separation, and discrimination toward the Negro which have always exceeded that of the general population or any other element thereof. Although there have been many individual examples to the contrary, as compared with the general population, Negroes have been deprived of their share of skilled, supervisory, managerial, professional, governmental, industrial, commercial, and financial means of earning a living. Thus, Negroes have been disproportionately concentrated in the most unremunerative and insecure occupations.

II.

Even in normal times, as compared with the general population, the Negro was in economic distress. His income was so low that while the majority of the general population was enjoying the blessings of this rich Commonwealth, the Negro citizen was marginal and sub-marginal. In times of depression and recession, his income was most often below the minimum necessities for decent existence.

The following data of the United States Employment Service may be taken for what they are worth. In 1938, the United States Employment Service in Pennsylvania registered 5,850 skilled Negro applicants; of this number, 91 or 1.55% of them were placed by the service. In 1940, 123 or 6.83% of the 1,800 skilled Negro applicants were placed. During the first eight months of 1941, 211 or 9.56% of the 2,206 skilled Negro applicants were placed. Nevertheless, from September, 1941 through July, 1942, a period during which the Employment Service placed nearly as many Negroes as it did during the previous forty-four months, only 472 or 1.10% of the 42,572 Negroes placed were given skilled jobs.

IV.

Sub-standard earnings, due to excessive unemployment and concentration in those occupations which pay least, have historically made Negroes the objects of charity and subsidization in disproportionate numbers.

In many instances, during the past decade, indeed, relief grants have been more profitable than wages paid by some employers in domestic service and other fields. Many heads of Negro families, having full time employment, have received wages so low that their income had to be supplemented by relief grants. In terms of responsibility, desirability, income, working conditions, the most effective and efficient use of abilities, WPA employment would have been preferable to the employment actually help by thousands of Negroes. Omitting politics and emphasizing the atypical utilization of the Negro labor force, it is difficult to determine whether WPA preference was a virtue of government or a fault of society. In any case, during the depression, discrimination tragically epitomized the unnumerable ways economic injustices can mock democracy.

Moreover, it is but a very short step from sub-standard income to dependency upon charity. During the past decade, NYA, and WPA workers have numbered more than twice their ratio in the general population; they have been on the relief rolls in numbers which are approximately five times their ratio in the general population. In short, should one add NYA, WPA, general relief, old-age pensions, blind pensions, aid to dependent children, and the benefits derived from such tax-supported and tax-aided sources as the Food Stamp Plan, the School Lunch Program, the various forms of free and part free medical aid, and subsidized housing, it would be obvious that for certain periods during the past decade, far more than one-half of the income of the State's Negro population was derived from public and private charity. Should other forms of benefits received from tax-supported and charitable agencies be added, the picture would be more complete but more serious.

However, as a result of employment due to the war, the absolute amount of public and private charity received by Negroes has been greatly reduced. Nevertheless, because of the comparatively low income of the Negro population and the increased cost of living, even if there were no rationing, current earnings are not sufficient to enable them to raise their standard of living to that of the general population.

Interracial Contacts and Civil Rights

I.

The history of the Negro in Pennsylvania began with his position as that of a slave whose master was white.

II.

This relationship, combined with differences in race and cultural background, gave rise to a caste system which thereby developed in theory and practice, the separation, limitation, discrimination, and segregation of Negroes in every area of life.

A. There was both physical and psychological residential segregation.

B. For a long period, it was illegal for Negroes to be taught; later, when their education became legal, there were generally separate and distinct schools for Negroes.

C. Exclusions and restrictions in the economic sphere were most rigid.

D. Many civil and political rights were denied both slave and free Negroes. Very early, as if municipal discriminatory acts were not enough, the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania enacted a "black code" which prescribed and discriminated against both slave and free Negroes in considerable detail. Moreover, the code provided different penalties for Negroes and whites committing the same offenses.

As has been indicated, many of the discriminations against Negroes today fall within the realm of government. Too often, the agencies of justice have permitted citizens who discriminate against Negroes to go unapprehended or if apprehended, not brought to trial, and have otherwise permitted such offenders to violate the inalienable rights of Negro citizens with impunity. In addition to the misfeasance and malfeasance indicated above, many public servants in other branches of government have discriminated against Negroes.

Likewise, so far as Negroes are concerned, democracy has disproportionately discriminated against those whom it has elected to positions of influence; those on whom it has conferred delegated authority; and those whom it has permitted to be selected to positions of influence and responsibility through civil service.

E. Philanthropy, though gentle, gracious, often characterized by deep sympathies and personal sacrifices, was generally designed exclusively and specifically for Negroes.

The philanthropy of yesterday has been largely channelled through agencies and institutions staffed by social workers who are one or more steps removed from the donor. Howbeit, because of the low income of the Negro population, this philanthropy was then and is now somewhat inadequate. Moreover, for all its worth, it treated symptoms and not the disease. The philanthropists of today and the trustees of the philanthropy of yester years are now called upon to devote themselves unswervingly to equal economic opportunity so that Negroes will no longer need a larger share of charity than is true of the general population.

F. There is still physical and psychological separation in the Christian church.

In conclusion, the social distance created by these discriminatory acts is so vast that there often appears to be two culture patterns in one geographical area having the same political ideology and the same God.

III.

Though Pennsylvania led in the abolition of slavery, though its Negro and white citizens had no peers in the contributions which they made to the abolition of slavery in the nation, though white philanthropy and benevolence are still the backbone of Negro educational, recreational, and welfare institutions, though white Pennsylvanians have helped to produce many eminent Negroes to whom they have publicly given the highest honors, prevailing public opinion in the State has continued to adhere to its expensive, unjust, and undemocratic caste system.

IV.

Consequently, as has been pointed out elsewhere, the unfavorable status of the Negro in health, housing, education, employment, recreation, law observance, and other areas of life is due very largely to discrimination in its various ramifications.

V.

Howbeit, white citizens are not always entirely at fault in all of the separations and distinctions which they establish, maintain, and promote. Too often, upon the advice and request of so-called Negro leaders, well-meaning white citizens have upheld, preserved, and promoted separation and segregation; thereby further perpetuating the caste system. Nevertheless, irrespective of the cause, its source and nature, the three century-old caste system still persists.

VI.

These discriminations do not exist because they are permitted by democracy though they may often be the will of the majority. On the contrary, they mock democracy and make justice both blind and lame. In a democracy, the majority imposed its will upon the minority for the benefit of the common good. Obviously, any form of injustice begets another; and so it goes, until discrimination against a minority curses alike both the majority and the minority. The Commission submits to Your Honorable Bodies and His Excellency, and through them, to the people of this great and good Commonwealth that the inalienable rights of no group can be violated without correspondingly jeopardizing the rights of all citizens. It is therefore the democratic duty and high Christian privilege of the citizens of the State to secure to the Negro population equal opportunity with the general population in the areas herein above set forth.

RECOMMENDATIONS

HousingI.

The enactment of a minimum uniform state-wide housing and sanitation code and the provision of the necessary machinery for the enforcement of the given legislation. That such legislation include an abatement fund.

Such an agency shall also have the power to investigate, upon its own initiative, whenever it so desires, to determine whether housing and sanitation codes are being violated.

2.

The enactment of legislation which provides that any expressed or tacitly understood agreement, in any deed, contract, lease, etc., which prohibits the lease, rental, sale, transfer, devise, occupancy or ownership of property to persons on account of race, religion, or national origin, shall be illegal and unenforceable in any court within the jurisdiction of the State.

3.

Legislation prohibiting discrimination in (1) occupancy or (2) employment on account of race, religion, or national origin, in any housing project owned and operated by a public housing authority or a tax-free limited dividend company.

4.

That the State Housing Authority, the Post-War Planning Commission or some other body be charged with the responsibility of presenting plans to your Honorable Bodies for housing all persons of the lowest income groups.

That such plans include suggestions regarding public low cost housing, tax-free housing associations, and tax-free limited-dividend companies toward the end that both public and private capital may each serve its best ends in providing housing for sub-marginal families. Likewise, data should be presented covering the possibilities inherent in rehabilitation, conversion, and other means of making the most economic use of existing buildings for dwelling purposes.

That a program of tenant education be presented as a necessary part of all housing plans.

Health1.

Legislation prohibiting discrimination on account of race, religion or national origin in granting any and all types of insurance.

2.

Legislation providing for the withdrawal of tax-exemption and tax-aid from all health and medical agencies, institutions, and organizations which discriminate against patients on account of race, religion or national origin.

3.

Legislation providing for the withdrawal of tax-exemption and tax-aid from all health and medical agencies, institutions, and organizations which discriminate against qualified persons desiring to become nurses, internes, staff physicians, medical research workers, and medical social workers on account of race, religion, or national origin.

4.

Legislation prohibiting any tax-supported health or medical agency, institution, or organization from discriminating against eligible persons seeking (a) health and medical care, (b) medical

education, training, or experience, or (c) employment on account of race, religion, or national origin.

That administrators or other employees found guilty of violating the above law be subject to either or both a fine and dismissal "with prejudice".

5.

That the Negro-staffed hospitals be given more tax-funds in order that they may improve both the quality and quantity of their services.

6.

That the State Department of Health or some other body be charged with the responsibility of working out with the State Medical Society and representatives of the various group hospital plans proposals whereby those hospitals, sanatoria, clinics, health centers, visiting nurse associations, etc., which do not discriminate against eligible patients, qualified students, and competent medical employees on the basis of race, religion, or national origin, may receive sufficient increases to expand their coverage and reduce their membership costs so that a much larger number of persons of low income groups may be induced to become members of such "plans" or "associations."

7.

Legislation providing for the expansion of state owned medical facilities so that citizens can be served on the basis of need.

That in those instances where such expansion is not possible due to limitations arising out of the war, the present quota system be revised and that allocations be made on the basis of morbidity and mortality statistics.

8.

That the State Department of Health be provided with funds with which to expand its system of health education and that health centers be located in terms of the needs of the population irrespective of race, religion, or national origin.

Recreation

1.

Legislation prohibiting discrimination on account of race, religion, or national origin, in the use of tax-supported recreational facilities and services.

That any administrator or employee who violates this proposed law shall be subject to either or both a fine and dismissal "with prejudice".

2.

That the Honorable Bodies study proposals designed to place all public recreation under the public school systems of the several municipalities, townships, boroughs, counties, etc., and that additional funds be appropriated so that public education and recreation may be effectively integrated into one system.

That the Department of Public Instruction be charged with the responsibility for developing plans for this integration.

Crime and Delinquency

1.

The enactment of legislation prohibiting segregation on account of race, religion, or national origin, in all penal, correctional, and rehabilitative agencies, institutions, and organizations which are tax-aided or tax-supported.

That the Office of the Attorney General, or some other agency of the State, and the Department of Welfare be responsible to Your Honorable Bodies and to His Excellency for the administration of this law.

That a Committee, appointed by Your Honorable Bodies and His Excellency, consisting of Negroes and white persons none of whom shall be in the employment of the State, be authorized to advise with the above agencies and also to report independently to Your Honorable Bodies and His Excellency whatever conditions provided for in the law which are not being properly administered by the above agencies.

2.

That the Office of the Attorney General or some other agency, be charged with the responsibility of studying: (1) "police brutality", (2) "mass arrests", (3) "cold storage", and (4) the "third degree", with a view toward recommending to Your Honorable Bodies legislation prohibiting these ruthless and unconstitutional practices and providing punishment and dismissal for persons violating the proposed law.

Further, that if suitable legislation on any one of the above four items seems constitutional and sufficient to obtain the ends in view that Your Honorable Bodies enact such legislation during the present Session.

3.

Legislation providing that all persons arrested by an officer of the law shall be afforded, at the expense of the governmental agency to whom the arresting officer is responsible, ample opportunity to communicate by telephone or message with his relatives, attorney, or close friends.

That the act specify the person or agency responsible for the administration of this law and that violations thereof be such that offenders be dismissed immediately upon conviction.

4.

Legislation providing that in all cases in which the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall be legitimate, no fee or charges shall be requested by any court or officer for the filling of the said Writ of Habeas Corpus.

5.

Legislation charging the Office of the Attorney General or some other agency with the responsibility of reviewing the entire minor judiciary system of the State toward the end that higher standards be required and that the powers of the minor judiciary be considerably reduced.

Further, that such a reviewing agency present proposals for additional courts including their number, distribution, and jurisdiction, etc.

That, if in the meantime, any suitable legislation is proposed which is designed to improve any of the defects herein involved, Your Commission urges your Honorable Bodies to enact such legislation during the present Session.

6.

That funds be provided for the improvement of the facilities and services of the tax-aided and tax-supported correctional, and rehabilitative agencies, institutions, and organizations of the State and that special attention be given to the needs of Negro offenders.

7.

That the Department of Welfare and any other agencies which seem desirable be charged with the responsibility of investigating the status of Negro dependent and neglected children with a view toward increasing the facilities for such children to a point of parity with children of the general population.

8.

Legislation providing for a public defendant or some other agency under State jurisdiction which shall provide legal aid for indigent persons arrested, brought before a member of the minor judiciary, or before the courts.

Education1.

Legislation prohibiting any school board or official from entering into contract with any group, association, institution, individual or agency for the use of facilities or services for any public school in the State if such a group, association, institution, individual or agency, discriminates against persons in the use of such facilities and services on account of race, religion, or national origin.

2.

Legislation providing that tax-exemption and tax-aid be withdrawn from and licenses be revoked from any educational institution which discriminates in the admission of qualified students on the basis of race, religion, or national origin.

3.

That the State Department of Public Instruction be charged with the responsibility and provided with sufficient funds for the development of courses in inter-cultural education toward the end that the proper appreciation of all racial, religious, and national groups be set forth.

4.

That the Department of Public Instruction be charged with the responsibility of studying proposals whereby the proper machinery may be developed by the public schools to discover pre-delinquents, suggest preliminary treatment, and the proper guidance for such pupils.

5.

Legislation be enacted providing for the withdrawal from use in any public school all books and other teaching materials which deride or in any way misrepresent any racial, national, cultural, or religious group.

6.

That teachers for the public schools of the State be selected on the basis of merit irrespective of race; religion,

That legislation be enacted to the effect that any school board or officer thereof who is found guilty of violating such legislation be subject to either or both a fine and dismissal.

7.

That in view of the unique services rendered to the Commonwealth by the Berean School, the Cheyney Training School for Teachers, the Downingtown Industrial School, and Lincoln University, and in view of their need for more funds, that Your Honorable Bodies make substantial increases in the appropriations given these institutions.

Employment

1.

The passage of legislation which will implement Executive Order 8802. This has already been done in other Middle Atlantic states and has greatly improved the status of Negro labor thereby promoting the war effort and building morale.

2.

The enactment of legislation to supplement the above recommendation which will prohibit discrimination in all types of employment on account of race or religion in public utilities, and all other agencies, institutions, and organizations which are tax-aided or tax-supported.

3.

The amendment of the present Labor Relations Act in the definition of a labor organization setting forth the procedure for determining the existence or non-existence of a labor organization based upon discrimination or non-discriminatory practices on account of race, religion, or national origin, that will operate to recognize bona fide petitioners charging discriminatory practices by a labor organization.

4.

The enactment of legislation which will provide the necessary machinery to enforce item 1, 2, and 3 above.

That such a body be composed of representatives from the two major labor organizations, industry, the Governor's office, both houses of the General Assembly, and representatives of the Negro population not included in the above classifications.

5.

That your Honorable Bodies and His Excellency memorialize the President and the Congress of the United States to enact the necessary legislation for the establishment of a Fair Employment Practice Commission having a status similar to the National Labor Relations Board.

Civil Rights

1.

That the Office of the Attorney General or some other agency under State jurisdiction, be charged with the responsibility of investigating and receiving complaints regarding the violation of the Civil Rights Law of the State.

2.

That the Departments of Health, Welfare, Public Assistance, Labor and Industry, Education, Public Instruction, etc., place qualified Negroes on their several advisory boards, staffs, and in other positions.

It is expected that such Negro employees render services to all citizens of the State and shall not be specifically charged with "Negro affairs". However, in the very nature of the case, such Negroes will be in a position to advise regarding the unequal sufferings of the Negro population.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH

There was slavery in Pennsylvania as early as 1639. The first slaves were most likely owned by the Dutch and Swedes. In 1639, Coinclesse wounded a soldier at the Dutch settlement of Fort Amsterdam; as punishment thereof, he was sentenced to serve among the blacks on the South River, now the Delaware. In 1644, Governor Printz had a Negro, Anthony, in his employ at Tinicum. He made hay for the cattle and accompanied the Governor on his yachting trips. In 1657, vice-director Alricks is recorded as having employed Negroes; and in 1662 vice-director Beekman requested the Dutch governor, Stuyvesant, to send him Negro workers. The West India Company contracted to furnish fifty Negroes to work on the lowlands along the Delaware in 1664. Negroes were, therefore, a definite part of the population when Penn arrived in Philadelphia in 1682.

Although there seems to be no positive records showing that the Penn Colonists brought slaves with them, some of them soon obtained slaves after their settlement here. Beginning in 1684, two years after the founding of the Colony, there is ample evidence that the Quakers held slaves. William Penn himself held slaves. Negroes were useful in "cutting down trees, building, plowing, and any type of labor that is required in the first planting of a country." However, there was a provision in the Charter to the Free Society of Traders which permitted a master to free his slaves after

they had worked out their term of indenture service. By 1700 slavery was an established and recognized institution in Pennsylvania; in that year it was recognized by law. Moreover, by this time, Negroes were of sufficient importance to merit special attention at the Monthly Meetings of the Society of Friends. Penn himself said that "his mind had long been engaged for the benefit and welfare of the Negroes."

The first special legislation occurred when the City Council of Philadelphia passed a law "against tumultuous gathering of Negroes of the old town of Philadelphia on the first day of the week." Under this law, the officers were supposed to arrest Negroes "Whom they should find gadding abroad, on the first day of the week, without a ticket from their master or mistress, or not in their company, to carry them to jail and there to cause them to remain that night and without meat or drink, or to cause them to be whipped publicly". In 1700, special colonial legislation pertaining to Negroes began. Penn himself was the author of some of it and approved of much of the legislation of which he was not author. In 1725-26, Pennsylvania's "Black Code" was passed; it was entitled: "An Act for the better regulation of Negroes in this Province". In some degree, special legislation for slave or free Negroes in Pennsylvania continued for more than a century after the "Black Code" was enacted.

In general, during the Colonial period, and until 1780, when slavery was abolished in Pennsylvania, the law made a distinction between a Negro slave and a free Negro; between

a slave and a white servant of the limited debtor slave class. There were also various regulations regarding free Negroes and other inhabitants of Pennsylvania. For the most part, Negroes, whether slaves or free, were restricted in their liberties and were, very often, given different penalties from whites who committed the same offense. These laws had the effect of a black and white society and also an accompanying black and white legal code within the same geographical boundaries.

Dr. R. R. Wright, Jr., summarized the situation as follows:

"So far as the laws of the colony go, there is evidence that Pennsylvania took but little legal notice of the fact that Negroes might be morally improved. There were laws on the statute books of the colony and state for nearly a hundred years, which were calculated only to inspire Negroes with fear, to discourage individual initiative on their part, to emphasize the difference between whites and blacks, to create a status of inferiority for the Negro, the effect of which was to put even the free Negro beneath the white servant. Although every protection was thrown around white women, there was no hint of protection of Negro women against white men or against men of their own race. So far as the laws of Pennsylvania were concerned, the Negro woman was not recognized to have any virtue. The one effort made by William Penn, in 1700, to give moral standing to the Negroes by regulating marriage among them, was defeated in the Assembly and there the matter rested for many years. The beginning of the Negro race in this State was under a moral handicap as well as an economic handicap." (1)

(1) Wright, R. R. Jr., THE NEGRO IN PENNSYLVANIA, P. 12

Despite all this, on the whole, whether slave or free, Negroes were treated better in Pennsylvania than in most other colonies. This was due to a number of reasons. First, although the Quakers held slaves, on purely religious grounds, they were never satisfied with the institution of slavery. They always kept in mind the principle of brotherhood. Thus, so far as we know, the first recorded protest against slavery was made in 1688 by the German Friends of Germantown under the leadership of Daniel Pasterius. From then on, numerous protests against slavery were registered in the various Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings of the Friends. These protests gradually developed into positive efforts to suppress and restrict the slave trade, to manumit slaves, and the enacting of legislation, in 1780, to abolish slavery as an institution in the Colony of Pennsylvania.

Second, in addition to and perhaps overlapping the opposition to slavery on religious grounds was the opposition to slavery on philosophical grounds. The principle of freedom, equality, and fraternity which created the French Revolution had many strong adherents in Pennsylvania. Although the Philadelphia area, under the leadership of the Quakers, pioneered in the movement for freedom, the nature of the Western Pennsylvania frontier was against the development of slavery. Democracy was an integral part of the life at the forts and military stations of the settlers. The general love for democracy and civil liberties tended to develop an antipathy toward increasing the number of slaves.

Third, it is possible that the part which Negroes played in the Revolutionary War helped to develop a sentiment for the abolition of slavery. At the start of hostilities, all of the thirteen colonies held the sentiment of the Massachusetts Committee of Safety that use of Negro troops against the British would "reflect dishonor on the American colonies". Washington, on his own protest and instruction from the Continental Congress, had discharged all Negro militiamen, free and slave. However, when the practice of enlisting slaves by promising freedom was adopted by the British, Washington revoked his order, and everyone of the thirteen colonies sent Negro troops, who then fought side by side with white soldiers.

Fourth, and very important, is the fact that the cost of slaves, their care, the responsibility incurred by slave masters in case of sickness or of committing crime, the nature of the climate, the type of work done, all combined to give the effect that slavery was unprofitable in Pennsylvania. This was especially true in the western part of the State. The average frontier farm contained only about thirty acres. Not one crop, but many different crops were harvested on a single farm; given the hardness of the frontiersman and his meager means, the expense and trouble of slaveholding was not appealing. In 1790, the average cost of a slave was \$200; by 1815, \$250; and in 1850, \$1,000. Maintenance costs also presented serious obstacles.

Another characteristic of the frontier community was the advanced development of commerce and industry. The need for semi-skilled workers excluded most slaves as they were not trained. However, some were found in the textile establishments, distilleries, iron foundries, etc.; some were shoemakers, barbers, cooks, etc. Certain industries, such as fur trading, cattle raising, and shipbuilding, were adapted more to the employment of indentured servants than to slavery.

On the whole, white servants were more profitable. Moreover, white labor soon protested against competition with slave labor and had laws passed preventing the hiring out of slaves by their masters. Benjamin Franklin wrote at length on the subject of the expensiveness of slave labor as compared with cheap white labor in Britain. In his characteristic, keen, analytical, and practical way, Franklin argued:

"It is an ill-grounded opinion that by the labor of slaves, America may possibly vie in cheapness with Britain. The labor of slaves can never be so cheap as the labor of working men in Britain. Any one may compute it. Interest is in the colonies from 6 to 10 per cent. Slaves, one with another, cost thirty pounds of sterling per head. Reckon then the interest on the first purchase of a slave, the insurance or risk of his life; his clothing and diet, expense in his sickness and loss of time, loss by neglect of business (neglect is natural to a man who is not to be benefited by his own care or diligence,) expense of a driver to keep him at work and his pilfering from time to time, almost every slave being a natural thief, and compare the whole amount with the wages of a manufacturer of iron or wool in England you will see that labor is much cheaper there than it even

can be by the Negroes here." (1)

These and other reasons account for the abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania. Thus, on March 1, 1780, eighteen months before the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, Pennsylvania passed "An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery" which provided that no child born in the State thereafter should be a slave. However, those Negroes or mulattoes born of slave mothers were to be held as bond servants until 25 years of age. Ten years after the passage of this law, 387 slaves were recorded in Philadelphia; by 1797, a vast majority of these had been freed. The dawn of the eighteenth century found this number decreased to 85. In 1820, there were 7; in 1840, 2; and by 1850 there were none. In Allegheny County, in 1790, there were 159 slaves; in 1800, 79; in 1810, 24; in 1830, 27; and in 1840 there were none.

The fight to abolish slavery was not confined to the Friends nor to Pennsylvania. However, the Friends were the most widely known group in the abolition movement, which found many ardent supporters among persons of all religious faiths. On April 14, 1775, a few Friends met at the Sun Tavern in Philadelphia and organized the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. However, the beginning of the Revolution, a few days later, deferred their work until the close of the war.

(1) Vide: P. 21-22

They, then, organized on February 10, 1784, at which time they enrolled other Friends who wished to participate in the abolition movement. In 1787, a revision of the society's constitution admitted those who were not Friends. Extending the scope of its work in 1789, it changed its name to The Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race. Benjamin Franklin was the first president of the new organization.

Upon the invitation from the New York abolition group, the Philadelphia group joined in a convention which met in Philadelphia January 1, 1794. This American Convention, as it was called, was the first of its kind. Nearly all the leaders were Negroes. The object of the Convention was the elimination of slavery. Each Thursday the Pennsylvania Freeman, the official organ of the Convention was issued. A second anti-slavery society, which became quite militant, was organized in Philadelphia in December, 1833, at the Adelphia Building, Fifth Street below Walnut. Negroes and Quakers composed this American Anti-Slavery Society, which had representation from ten states. John Greenleaf Whittier, Lucretia and James Mott, Robert Purvis, William Lloyd Garrison, and Passmore Williamson were among those present.

Both the Pennsylvania and the American Anti-Slavery Societies sought to reduce slavery by assisting slaves to escape. This was accomplished through the Underground Railroad, which established definite routes of travel in or near

Philadelphia about 1805. Fugitives were sent to Philadelphia from various places; from this point, William Still sent them on to New York, whence they were sent from place to place until they reached Canada. Those who helped slaves to escape by means of this method were known as "station-keepers", or "conductors". In Philadelphia, some of the foremost in this group were Jacob C. White, Harriet Tubman, James Forten, John P. Burr, Thomas Earle, James Gould Bias, Rev. William H. Furness, Stephen Smith, Robert Purvis, and William Still.

The first organized society of the Underground Railroad⁽¹⁾ in Philadelphia was the Vigilance Committee formed about 1838 with Robert Purvis, president; and Jacob C. White, secretary. Antagonists of slavery provided funds whenever the need arose. The Committee's work was greatly aided by a Negro woman and a white market woman in Baltimore, and by the son of a slaveholder in New Bern, North Carolina. Somehow these women managed to obtain bona fide passports for escaping slaves, who then returned them for use by other slaves. The New Bern helper maneuvered slaves upon lumber vessels sailing between that city and Philadelphia. Here they were met and secreted by members of the Vigilance Committee until a propitious time

(1)

Additional data on the abolition movement can be found in:
 Jackson, Joseph, ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PHILADELPHIA, Volume 1.
 Siebert, W.H., THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM
 Smedley, R.C., HISTORY OF THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD IN CHESTER
 AND NEIGHBORING COUNTIES
 Still, William, THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

to speed them on their way. This Committee existed until the Emancipation Proclamation was issued. During its last ten years it aided hundreds of Negroes in their escape to Freedom.

Abolition movements aroused in many whites an embittered attitude toward the Negro which resulted in many riots throughout the State. It must also be pointed out that there were thousands of law-abiding whites in both the North and the South who opposed slavery but who also did not want the Negro in this country. One plan to get rid of Negroes was that of their colonization somewhere outside of the borders of the United States. This movement began as early as 1817. The idea of colonization brought fear, resentment, and spread panic among thousands of free northern Negroes. Many of them believed that they were to be forcibly exported to Africa or elsewhere. Hundreds of them fled to Canada. Although many Friends came to the rescue of free Negroes, Negro leadership in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, York, Columbia, Harrisburg and other parts of the State began to oppose this movement. These leaders, as well as the vast majority of other Negroes, felt that inasmuch as they had been born in this country, reared here and spoke the common language, they were as much "American" as were their white fellow countrymen who desired to remove them.

Nevertheless, by 1838, there were more than a score of colonization societies. Thus, the presumption that the removal of the Negro would be best for both races had become

quite prevalent among a certain element of whites. Only free or freed Negroes, however, were to be colonized. The American Colonization Society was the most powerful of these colonization movements. It aimed to transport all free Negroes who desired to go to Liberia. However, on the whole, colonization was a failure, for, in spite of all the sentiment in favor of and much official pressure behind the movement, less than 12,000 Negroes were sent to Africa. While the colonizers were busy sending willing free Negroes back to Africa, the abolitionists were seeking to end slavery. It is interesting to note, however, that shortly before the Civil War, colonization was still being advocated. Horace Greeley and some other Republican leaders designated Central America; Benjamin Lundy proposed Haiti, Mexico, and Texas. A fourth plan suggested Canada.. However, every proposal was rejected by the Negro leaders, who were supported strongly by such white leaders as William Lloyd Garrison. Then, shortly after the Civil War, President Lincoln called a group of Negroes together in Washington and advocated some plan whereby Negro Americans might be separated from white Americans.

Riots were often resorted to as a means of driving Negroes away from the State. They were especially violent in Philadelphia between 1834 and 1842 while the abolition movement was at its height. During these occurrences Negro dwellings, halls, and churches were frequently destroyed, and the Negroes themselves severely beaten and sometimes killed. One especially vicious riot took place around the

middle of July, 1835, lasting two or three days. A white mob set fire to a whole row of houses on Eighth Street below what is now Bainbridge. However, quick work of the firemen saved all but one of these Negro homes from complete destruction. The following day, many Negroes moved from the locality or locked up their homes and sought safety elsewhere. When a mob attempted an attack upon Negroes on St. Mary's Street the next evening, they found them armed with razors, knives, bludgeons, pistols, bricks, and paving stones. Police intervened and thus prevented much damage and possibly loss of life.

By 1838 abolition societies were thoroughly established in various sections of the United States. In Philadelphia, however, they met much opposition in securing a place to meet. To overcome this obstacle, land was purchased at Sixth and Haines (now Quarry Street) and Pennsylvania Hall was erected. On May 14 of that year, it was dedicated, and abolitionists from all parts of the country were in attendance. Infuriated opponents of the movement set upon the building and its occupants a few nights later, and the entire center of the building was destroyed from top to bottom.

Another riot occurred during the early part of August, 1842, after which the city officials made some effort to curb lawless outbreaks. Peace was maintained until 1849 when rioting broke out anew - lasting for a day and a night. The militia was called out twice before the storm was allayed. These riots, racial prejudice, and economic discrimination

against Negroes drove many of them from the city. Records show a decided decrease in the Negro population of Philadelphia between 1840 and 1850. In spite of these difficulties, Philadelphia Negroes and their white abolitionist friends continued to oppose both colonization and slavery with much success. In terms of financial contributions for the purpose of fighting slavery and colonization, holding successful conventions for the purpose of crystallizing sentiment against slavery and colonization, leadership in interracial societies opposing slavery and contributions to the underground railroad, Philadelphia Negroes were the most outstanding in the nation.

In the western part of the State, Negro and white abolitionists made great contributions also to the cause of freedom. As Pittsburgh was located near the line that marked freedom from slavery, movements and organizations to aid fugitive slaves became strong there. The years between 1820 and 1865 continued the struggle for human liberties and finally the freeing of the American Negro. As the town and its industries grew, Negroes wanted every opportunity for free, healthy and happy development for which they had come. In a community so young, ways had to be assured for all to move forward together. The issues of slavery were not always clear in the early years of the anti-slavery movement, and lines dividing colonization from abolition wavered and were often erased so that at different times different conceptions of each were expressed. Colonization, anti-slavery, and abolition societies sprang up over night. Newspapers were bought up and

edited in the interests of the Negro people, slave and free. Newspapers and magazines were founded in their interests by Negro and white editors; pamphlets were written and published; lecture campaigns were organized.

Gradually the manufacturing interests became the radical anti-slavery group. The middle ground was represented by the farmers and, in the city, the middle class, while commercial and banking interests sought to maintain the status quo. However, Pittsburgh did not become preponderantly hostile to slavery until the Fugitive Slave Law was passed. Slaves were held in the Pittsburgh region, more particularly in the counties to the southwest of the city, until almost mid-century. Although the anti-slavery sentiment may have developed later than colonization, it strengthened more rapidly. When the Fugitive Slave Law was passed in 1850, it was immediately denounced because abolition, by this time, had become the primary issue about which the progressive group centered their activities. The Fremont campaign of 1856 emphasized "free speech, free press, free men and free soil". The work of Theodore Weld in Pittsburgh was quite outstanding. He spent weeks evangelizing for anti-slavery, not by a single meeting but in series, his object being to ascertain the exact position of the slavery question.

Pittsburgh became a center of anti-slavery sentiment as the North became determined that the slavery issue "must be settled or it would settle the Union". During the Whig County Convention, June, 1854, the slogan adopted was "free men, free

labor and free lands". Those members of all parties who wished to come together as one on the basis of preserving a Union of "free men, free labor and free lands" began to call themselves Republicans. A call was sent out for a Republican State Convention which met at Pittsburgh, September, 1855. Although organized in 1854 at Jackson, Michigan, the Republican party became national when it met in Philadelphia on June 17, 1856 and nominated John C. Fremont. The party was an anti-slavery party and thus united most anti-slavery leaders and movements. Although Fremont was defeated, the party won at its next election under Lincoln, the great emancipator.

The year 1847 was marked by great anti-slavery activity in Pittsburgh. Impetus to action was given by the visits and speeches of Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison, and other anti-slavery speakers. Douglass delivered several speeches in Temperance Hall. Slaves, both singly and in groups, fled from servitude and constant attempts were made to help them reach their goal. Reports of the arrival of slave catchers caused great excitement, not only among the Negro people but among white abolitionists as well. So determined were joint groups of Negroes and whites to prevent slave catchers from succeeding in the community, that guests arriving without clear identification were sometimes suspected.

The location of Pittsburgh and its growing Negro population made it an active station on the Underground Railroad. Organized about 1815 by friends of the slave, it grew slowly from a system of trails and hideouts into a unique network

through which the abolitionists worked to rescue runaway slaves. The abolitionists, its chief organizers, claimed for it greater effectiveness than the colonization movement could claim for its plan. Whereas latter, in forty years the colonization movement had sent less than 12,000 Negroes to Africa, in the thirty years of Underground Railroad, between 1830 and 1860, through Eastern Ohio alone 40,000 fugitives were aided to reach freedom in Canada. No estimate is available for the traffic through Pittsburgh. Because of Pittsburgh's many hills cut into deep hollows and surrounding hills well covered with trees, it offered safe hiding places for fugitives. Additional hiding places were coal pits, caves, and houses fitted with cellars and trap doors. At night, food and clothing were brought to the hidden fugitives. Toward the end of the operation of the Underground Railroad, an understanding was reached with agents who were train conductors on steam railroad lines leading out of the city whereby Negroes provided with specially initialed tickets should be accepted as passengers and not questioned unless slave catchers were known to be on the train.

1. THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF NEGRO ABOLITIONISTS

That Friends and many other whites made significant contributions to the cause of freedom is well known. These persons deserve far more praise than is generally accorded them by writers of American history text books. Howbeit, few people, white or black, realize the contributions made by Negro.

abolitionists among whom Pennsylvania Negroes were, by far, the most outstanding. From the biographical sketches given below, it is evident that, in addition to James and Lucretia Mott, there were numerous other Negroes who were outstanding leaders in the cause for freedom. Pennsylvania Negroes held offices in every leading abolition society in the nation. They gave their time, fortunes, and lives to the cause. Thousands of free Negroes all over the State gave food, shelter, clothing and money to escaped slaves. Often these accomplishments were achieved at great personal risks and sacrifices. Thus, in terms of volume of services and sacrifices, unheralded Negroes rendered greater services than the leaders whom we have honored. Likewise, Negro anti-colonization leaders obtained support from thousands of free Negroes in the State. Often, there were more than two thousand free Negroes attending anti-slavery and anti-colonization conventions and gatherings in Philadelphia. In comparison to the size of the free Negro population, Pittsburgh free Negroes were just as zealous in these causes. Likewise, throughout the State, especially in York, Columbia, and Harrisburg, free Negroes made significant contributions to the cause of freedom.

2. PROGRESS IN RELIGION, MEDICINE, BUSINESS AND IN THE ARMED FORCES UP TO 1900

In 1679, George Fox told the Friends that it was the duty of all those who held slaves to give them religious

instruction. In 1693, the Keithian Quakers also advised masters to provide their slaves with Christian education. By 1700, Penn, it appears, had a Monthly Meeting established for slaves. Records indicate that the Quakers were the first in Philadelphia to minister to the spiritual needs of the Negro. However, some religious attention was given Negroes by other sects. The Moravians are said to have received Negro worshippers on equal terms. To a certain extent, the Lutherans did also, administering baptism to those among them. Records give more definite knowledge of the work of the Episcopalians in providing religious instruction for the Negro. The Christ Church of Philadelphia placed a minister in special charge of their instruction; the annals of the Christ Church show that many Negroes were baptized there within a period of 70 years. In other parts of the State, especially where there were only a few Negroes, they frequently worshipped with white congregations; often without evidence of physical or psychological segregation.

During the Colonial Period wandering Negro preachers would preach to small groups of Negroes in fields and orchards. During the eighteenth century such men as Anthony Benezet, John Woolman, and George Whitefield added to their work. However, as the century drew to a close the masses of Negroes were not church-goers or Christians in any great numbers. In Philadelphia, those who did attend church worshipped, for the most part, at St. George's Methodist Church at Fourth and Vine Streets. For years, free as well as slave Negroes

were among the worshippers welcomed. Eventually there came an immigration from the surrounding country side which greatly augmented the Negro attendance. The whites did not fully approve of this trend of affairs and sought to compel the colored to sit in the gallery. This, however, did not meet with the satisfaction of the Negroes. Absalom Jones and Richard Allen refused to worship in any place other than their regular seats. One Sunday morning they were pulled from their knees by ushers while praying. They left the church immediately and were followed by their adherents. This event occasioned establishment of the first independent Negro church in the North.

A small group met on April 12, 1787, and formed the Free African Society under the leadership of Allen and Jones; by 1791 regular religious services were inaugurated. They met first at private homes, then, at Negro schoolhouses. They wavered between Quakerism and Methodism for a time, while some favored the Episcopal Church. Finally, those who, with Allen, preferred Methodism, withdrew and founded the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church which later developed into the African Methodist Episcopal denomination; it is the largest and most powerful of Negro methodist denominations today. Those who, with Jones, were inclined toward the Episcopal church founded St. Thomas Episcopal Church. Bethel is the mother African Methodist Episcopal church in the Country; St. Thomas is the mother Negro Episcopal church.

By 1794, Negroes were withdrawing from St. George's church in large numbers. As the result of this disturbance, a mission was established in the northeastern section of the city. From this mission grew the present Zoar Church, the first Negro Methodist Episcopal Church in the country. Thus, at the end of the century, there were three Negro churches in Philadelphia each of which was the first of its kind in the country. Thenceforth, Negro congregations grew throughout the State.

As early as 1788, Negroes were serving in a medical capacity in Philadelphia. At that time, James Derham was practicing medicine in the city. Dr. Benjamin Rush spoke of him as a very learned man and a skilled physician. He is said to have been the first Negro physician in the country.

In 1793, Philadelphia was swept by an epidemic of yellow fever which began during the summer. Between the first of August and the early part of November, there were more than 4,000 deaths recorded in those graveyards in which records were kept. Although it is impossible to determine how many persons died of yellow fever, it was known that the majority of the mortalities were its victims. Many whites fled from the city. Matthew Carey, who fled also, criticized the noble work done by Richard Allen and Absalom Jones who remained. Often, they used their personal resources to carry on the work. Under their leadership many Negroes assisted in caring for the sick and burying the dead. Their efforts were greatly commended

by Dr. Benjamin Rush in a letter written on October 29, 1793.⁽¹⁾

Records show the presence of Negro physicians in the early nineteenth century, though it was not until late in the century that trained Negro physicians began to practice. When the first convention in the interest of Negro rights was held in Philadelphia in 1831, a Dr. Belfast Burton was one of the Philadelphia delegates. Little, if anything, is known of his medical training; however, it is established that he was connected with a wholesale drug business and he knew that line of work quite thoroughly. ⁽²⁾

Bleeding was a much used treatment for many ailments during this period. The trade directory of 1838 lists the names of Richard Allen, James J.G. Bias, James McCrummill, Jacob C. White, and Joseph Bass as bleeders in the medical profession. McCrummill practiced dentistry also and is conceded, by some, as Philadelphia's first Negro dentist. Bias also extracted teeth along with his leeching, or bleeding. In January, 1850, John S. Rock, a trained dentist, began practicing in Philadelphia; the following year he received a silver medal for unusually proficient work in manufacturing artificial teeth. ⁽³⁾ Another early

(1) JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY, Vol. 1, No. 3, July, 1925, PP. 358-363.

(2) Minton, Henry, EARLY HISTORY OF NEGROES IN BUSINESS IN PHILADELPHIA

(3) Brown, William Wells, THE NEGRO: HIS ANTECEDENTS, HIS GENIUS AND HIS ACHIEVEMENTS. PP. 266-68

physician was Albert M. Wilson who acquired his medical knowledge at the University of Pennsylvania while a janitor at College Hall.⁽¹⁾ During his employment in the laboratory of physics and chemistry, Professor John M. Frazer taught him how to prepare the apparatus and materials for illustrating lectures. In a short space of time, he had learned to make all preparations with little aid.

During the last half of the century, trained physicians and dentists began work in the city. One of the earliest of this group was Dr. David Rosell, who acquired his medical training at the University of Gottingen. He came to Philadelphia shortly after receiving his degree in 1863. While serving with the Union forces as a contract surgeon, he did commendable work in combating yellow fever. After only thirteen years of medical service, he died in 1877 at the age of 44. Shortly after Dr. Rosell's arrival, Dr. Rebecca Cole completed her medical course at the Women's Medical College in 1867. Women physicians met with little favor in those days and soon she sought other employment.

Records indicate that the Negro was in business in Philadelphia at least as early as 1776 though individual home owners were scarce. During this period, a Negro known only as "Tom" developed a business as a community baker. He

(1) ALUMNI REGISTER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, PP. 309, 317, 323.

provided bread for the Negro population, which was then located in Southeastern Philadelphia. There were also many other Negroes in other parts of the State who were successful business men and farmers. Before the gradual Emancipation Act of 1780, the majority of Negroes, slave or free, were field "hands", farmers, house servants, textile workers, etc. The following account is enlightening:

"Negroes were used in the ironworks from the early establishment of the Pennsylvania history. In 1727, the shortage of labor was so acute that the ironmasters in the colony petitioned the Assembly for permission to import Negroes free of duty to labor at their works. The petition set forth that the 'difficulties of getting laborers and their excessive wages are a great discouragement and hindrance' to the development of the iron manufacture. A bill permitting Negroes imported into the colony for the express purpose of laboring at ironworks to enter duty free failed by the deciding vote of the Speaker. Two years later, however, the duty of 5 pounds on each Negro brought into the province was reduced to 2 pounds. This was a concession to the industrialists. A few years later, however, in accord with the British policy, notice was given to Deputy Governor Gordon that he should not give assent to any law imposing duties on Negroes imported into Pennsylvania because the duty operated 'to the great discouragement of Merchants trading thither from the coast of Africa.'

"While Negro slaves and freed Negroes usually worked at menial tasks, yet at many ironworks they were skilled workmen. While few skilled Negro workers were found at the blast furnaces, many were employed at the forges. At Green Lane, Durham, Martic, Mount Joy (Valley Forge), Charming Pottsgrove and others, they performed the skilled tasks of refining and drawing

iron into bars." (1)

Thus, having been laborers, field "hands", farmers, small businessmen, and domestic servants before 1780, it was only natural that Negroes should seek the type of work with which they were most familiar. They, therefore, became laborers, domestic workers, etc. When some of them had acquired sufficient capital, they estab^lished small businesses of the service type such as barber shops, restaurants, and dressmaking shops. From such investments, many Negroes became wealthy; notwithstanding many others who were handicapped because of their inability to borrow funds with which to expand. John Lucas and William Riley were the outstanding shoemakers of Philadelphia around the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Their customers were chiefly of the select circle. (2) A score of Negroes were engaged in the occupation of sail-making in Philadelphia during the latter part of the eighteenth century and into the first half of the nineteenth century. James Forten of Philadelphia acquired a fortune of more than \$100,000 from this trade. The appearance of the steam vessels made this trade less profitable. Before coal came into wide use, wood was the chief fuel. This was fairly

(1) Bining, Arthur Cecil, Publication of Penna. Historical Commission. Vol. IV, "Pennsylvania Iron Manufactures in the Eighteenth Century", PP. 114-115.

(2) "The Philadelphia Tribune", November 7, 1932.

profitable to Negroes because they owned the wagons which were used for hauling; early in the nineteenth century, they inaugurated the practice of selling Christmas trees..

In 1838, a survey made of Negro trades in Philadelphia revealed that 656 Negroes were engaged in 57 different occupations. Basket makers, blacksmiths, whitesmiths, brass founders, caulkers, coopers, masons, millers, printers, rope makers, ship carpenters, turners, weavers and wheelwrights, were among the tradesmen recorded. There were also a dentist, a brewer, an iron forger, a paper maker, a potter, a stone cutter and a tin plate worker listed. Hairdressers composed the largest group; boot and shoemakers came next. In addition, many Negroes handled such wares as soft soap, brick dust, coal, wood, sand, etc., along the streets and made a good living at this type of business. Between 1790 and 1820, a large portion of artisans in the city were Negroes, since many became artisans after freedom. However, later, because of the competition of foreigners and the exclusion of Negroes from apprenticeships in new kinds of skilled labor with which they were unfamiliar and were not given the opportunity to learn, these fields soon became closed to Negroes.

After the riots of the early 1840's, economic conditions for the Negro grew worse; for, in addition to being excluded from new industries, he had been pushed out of some of his former vocations. Nevertheless, he still held a practical monopoly in the domestic field, out of which he developed the business of catering. As in the case of some earlier business undertakings, many Negroes made fortunes.

Sweeping chimneys was another job usually performed by Negroes throughout the State. The following story and poem by Dr. Arthur D. Fraeff are very interesting from many angles:

"'Jim' Jackson was a Negro civil war veteran, who made his solitary home in the Blue Mountains north of Berks County, Pa. He eked out an existence by chopping wood and cleaning chimneys for the Pennsylvania German farmers in the neighborhood. He spoke the dialect like one to the manner born and made many friends in the villages which lie south of the mountains.

"He feared that his grave would go unmarked. He appealed to his friend Jim Kline of Bernville to have him promise to take care of his grave and his funeral. Kline promised and saw to it that Black Jim got a decent burial in the Strausstown (white) Cemetery (1899).

"When Kline grew too old to take care of decorating the colored man's grave he interested several other persons who had known 'Jim' and they formed the 'Jackson Memorial Association' which each year makes a pilgrimage to his grave and appropriate services held.

* * * *

"Kline too has died. Each year the pilgrims visit Kline's grave at Bernville. The custom is to visit the graves of all deceased members of the Association and attend to appropriate decorations for Memorial Day."

* * * *

The poem:

"BLACK JIM

"As black as coal from head to foot
Encased in dusty chimney soot
Black Jim is the dusky chimney sweep
Climbs chimneys low - high, wide and deep
He sweeps and scratches hidden nooks -
He need not worry how he looks -
Black soot, Black Jim - black fire place
Black dust won't show on black Jim's face.

"Tis dark within the chimney walls
 As dark and dank as dust that falls
 To cellar floor and covers Jim
 From head to foot and limb to limb.
 The only light that comes to view
 Is far above - a square of blue
 Where azure clouds float idly by
 Like fleecy ships that sail the sky.

"Jim sings and whistles while he works
 Inveterate foe of filth that lurks
 In crannied crevice, foul and thick
 Encrusting red clay chimney brick.
 Yet while he sweeps his eye espies
 The cleanly cotton tufted skies,
 Somewhere far-off God's Heaven beams
 Jim ponders vaguely lost in dreams.

"The Negroes and the white folks, too,
 Someday will meet beyond the blue
 Where heaven's blessings all will share.
 What's that I see off yonder - there?
 A pile of bricks - a chimney top -
 I'll need my broom, my brush, my mop;
 For-see that roll of smoke arise
 And form a black cloud in the skies!

"A hearth that smoky clouds doth shoot
 Must needs be coated thick with soot
 And God will need a chimney-sweep
 To climb and clamber, crawl and creep
 Into the yawning cavern - so
 That clean white smoke to clouds may grow
 Instead of black clouds darkening skies
 Soft eiderdown will please men's eyes'.

"And so today when clouds are black
 Soot laden smoke from Heaven's tack
 Enshrouds the earth - unnatural hue
 There's lots of work for Jim to do!
 Soon blackish clouds are tinged with white
 And through the darkness of the night
 The stars peep out beyond the rim
 In twinkling tribute to Black Jim."

The first attempts among Negroes of Philadelphia to secure financial advantages was through the establishment of mutual aid societies. Membership required an initiation fee and small regular payments. In case of sickness, a weekly benefit

was paid; in the event of death, members were assessed a stipulated sum to help defray funeral expenses and to aid the widow. The Free African Society, founded in 1787, seems to be the first of this type in Philadelphia. By 1838, there were 100 similar small groups with a total membership of 7,448. They, at that time, had \$10,023, after having paid in \$18,851 and given out \$14,172 in benefits. During the next ten years, six more groups were formed - the memberships increasing to almost 3,000. Later hundreds of such societies were in existence throughout the State; Pittsburgh being the city in which they grew rapidly also.

Negroes showed a decided tendency to acquire property during the nineteenth century. In 1821, their assessed holdings were \$112,464 with a real value of \$281,162. Excluding church property, by 1832, the real value had increased to \$357,000; by 1848, to \$531,809; by 1855, to \$2,685,693; and by 1898, to \$5,000,000. Caterers, domestic servants, a few clerks in public service, merchants, etc., were included among the owners. Many of them owned their homes as well as property elsewhere. In 1849, Negroes owned 7.4% of the property in Philadelphia County and 5.5% of the property in the city proper. Before the close of the nineteenth century, three building and loan associations had been established. The first to be established was the Century which was founded October 26, 1836. In 1888, two more were established, the Berean Building and Loan, and the Pioneer Association. Attempts were made to counteract the evils of pawnshops. Other

loan organizations came into existence, two of which were the Small Loan Association and the Conservative.

Two of the wealthiest men, irrespective of race, during the nineteenth century, were Joseph Cassey, a barber, and Stephen Smith, a lumber merchant and real estate dealer. Smith and his business partner, William Whipper, owned \$9,000 worth of stock in the Columbia (Pennsylvania) bridge. James Forten was estimated to be worth \$100,000 in 1832. His son-in-law, Robert Purvis, was the second largest taxpayer in Byberry. Richard Allen left a fortune estimated between \$30,000 and \$40,000 at his death; William Still accumulated a fortune of \$200,000. During this period the first Negro millionaire in the country, Colonel John McKee, amassed his fortune. Benjamin Richards of Pittsburgh made a fortune from the butchering business; Henry M. Collins of the same city had a very profitable real estate business and William Goodrich of York had a considerable investment in railroad stock. As will be noted from the biographies of leading Negroes of the State, a number of them had been thrifty enough to amass what, in their day, was called "goodly" sums of money.

Negroes have participated in all the wars of America; in each instance, Pennsylvanians were among those who served. Many of those who served were prominent in Negro and national life. Cyrus Bustill was a banker in the Revolutionary Army; (1)

(1)

Gardiner, Leon, "Reference to Pennsylvania Soldiers in Wars of the Country", Typewritten article, repository, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

James Forten, Sr., served in the Navy. (1) He joined the Navy in 1780 at the age of fourteen and sailed on the "Royal Louis" or "Royal Louise". (Historians differ on the latter part of the name.) He embarked a second time on the same ship and was this time captured by the British, who imprisoned him on their ship, "Amphyon". Usually Negro prisoners were not exchanged, but were placed in slavery in the West Indies. Forten escaped this fate. The English captain took a fancy to him and kept him as a companion for his son. Captain Beasley wished to take Forten to England and educate him. He refused, however, insisting that he was a prisoner for the liberties of his country and would not betray it. The captain then transferred him to the frigate, "Old Hersey", where he remained a prisoner for seven months before he was finally released.

In the absence of the Logans from their home in Germantown, two British dragoons arrived to destroy the property. Dinah, the slave of the Logans, sought to dissuade them from their purpose. Failing in this, she gained permission to remove the bedding, clothing, and her personal belongings. The British dragoons went to the barn for straw with which to start the fire; in the meantime, a British patrol searching for deserters or lagging soldiers arrived on the scene. Dinah directed them to the barn where they seized the alleged

(1) Nell, William C., THE COLORED PATRIOTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, PP. 166-75

deserters despite their protests. The home, "Stenton", was thus saved from destruction. Upon her death, Dinah was buried on the estate. In 1912, a tombstone marking her grave was erected by the Colonial Dames, the Site and Relic Society of Germantown.

During the War of 1812, Charles Black was an imprisoned seaman aboard an English ship. He refused to fight against America; consequently, he was put in irons and later sent to Dartmoor Prison. Through an exchange, he was finally able to return to the United States at which time he joined the fleet on Lake Champlain and served under McDonough. In an effort to fortify Philadelphia against the British, 2,500 Negroes organized for its protection. They marched from the State House yard to Gray's Ferry, where, for two days without ceasing, they threw up breastworks.⁽¹⁾ A colored battalion was also organized under a United States Army officer, but peace was declared before they could march to the front.

Nicholas Biddle of Pottsville, Pennsylvania was in the employ of a white man whom he accompanied to battle; Biddle was wounded as the regiment passed through Baltimore on April 18, 1861. Many persons say that his was the first blood to be shed on the Union side in the Civil War. That regiment became known as the First Defenders. Biddle survived the War

(1) Nell, William C., COLORED PATRIOTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, PP. 191-2.

and was a member of the First Defenders until his death. At the reunion of the First Defenders Association in Pottsville on April 18, 1905, Biddle's contribution was noted with special celebration. Even though Negroes were not accepted as combatants in the armed forces at the beginning of the Civil War,⁽¹⁾ before two years had expired, with the ^{outcome} being uncertain, Negroes were finally enlisted. The 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry was organized and Company B was mobilized in Philadelphia. There were Pennsylvanians in every company of this regiment as well as the 55th - both of which were entirely colored. In June, 1863, Camp William Penn was established just outside of Philadelphia for the training of Negro soldiers. Lieutenant Colonel Louis Wagner was in command. In December of the same year, the Free School for Military Tactics was opened in Philadelphia. One hundred and sixty-six regiments were organized during the Civil War. Eleven of these came from Camp William Penn and were composed of Philadelphians.

"The recruiting of colored troops in Pennsylvania was carried on perhaps with more vigor, intelligence and enthusiasm than in any other part of the country."⁽²⁾ The success of this effort was due largely to the great Negro American, Frederick Douglass, in cooperation with such eminent Pennsylvania Negro citizens as William Still, General Thomas Morris Chester, and Martin R. Delany to whom President Lincoln referred as "A

(1) Taylor, Frank H., PHILADELPHIA IN THE CIVIL WAR, PP. 186-89; 190-5

(2) Williams, George W., HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA, Vol. 2, P. 293.

most extraordinary and intelligent black man".

When war with Spain was declared, Negroes were already trained and enlisted in both branches of the regular army. There were four Negro regiments: two of cavalry and two of infantry; Pennsylvanians were in each of them. These four regiments were ordered to the front when the war began. (1)

In the very first battle, the famous Tenth Cavalry saved Theodore Roosevelt's troops, the Rough Riders, from complete destruction by the Spanish. The 25th Infantry, the 9th, and 10th Cavalries were in the thick of the battle of San Juan Hill.

In the first World War, the 92nd Division was composed of Negroes from all over the nation. The 368th Infantry which was trained at Camp Meade, Maryland, was largely composed of Philadelphia Negroes. However, large numbers of other Philadelphia Negroes were sent to Camp Chillicothe in Ohio. The 349th and 350th, the Field Artillery at Camp Dix in New Jersey contained many Pennsylvania Negroes. Although the above units contained large numbers of Pennsylvania Negroes, there were Pennsylvania Negroes in nearly every branch of the armed forces. In addition to many officers, some Negro citizens won special honors.

(1) THE NEGRO YEAR BOOK, 1918-1919, P. 214

3. BIOGRAPHIES OF SOME NEGRO LEADERS UP TO 1900

Much of the Negro achievement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had its foundation in some of the leaders of the earlier centuries. One of the pioneers was James Forten, Sr., born in Philadelphia on September 2, 1766. At the age of seven, he lost his father, and two years afterwards was compelled to leave school; he never returned again. Perhaps his training in Anthony Benezet's grocery store helped prepare him for the successful business life which followed. All of his business dealings were square and honest which won him the respect and confidence of all his customers. In addition, he was accurate, untiring, and punctual at his work. Good management ultimately enabled him to accumulate a fortune of \$100,000 from his sail-making business.

A large portion of his wealth was devoted to the advancement of his race. He contributed to many institutions, and was a very liberal donor to St. Thomas' Church, of which he was a member for more than 50 years and also the last survivor of the founders. His liberality also extended to any individual in need, regardless of race. When occasion required, he would not hesitate to imperil his life in the attempt to rescue others from danger, regardless of race. On seven different occasions, he saved as many people from drowning at the risk of his own life. In four of these instances, he was awarded recognition by the Humane Society.

He assumed an active part in the fight for abolition, both financially and physically; he stood firmly and unalterably

against the colonization movement, although the proponents of this movement offered him an attractive position in the Republic of Liberia on the West Coast of Africa. The failure of the various colonization schemes was due, in part, to resolutions written by him and supported by many other leading Pennsylvania Negroes opposing colonization movements. Forten became president of the first convention for Negroes held in Philadelphia, and until his death was a leading light in those which followed. He affiliated himself with the American Moral Reform Society upon its formation and remained a member until his death on March 4, 1842.

James Forten was blessed with exceptionally good health. His first and only illness beset him about nine months before his death. It is believed that between three and four thousand people attended his funeral, half of whom were white. He was regarded as one of the most influential men in America. Because of his genius as an inventor of types of sails which were very extensively used all over the world, his success as an honest merchant, his philanthropy and humaneness to all persons irrespective of race, his high sense of honor and patriotism as a member of the armed forces in the Revolutionary War, his courageous efforts for the freedom of his people, James Forten, Sr., is an example for all Americans and an ideal for Negro citizens.

RICHARD ALLEN was born a slave in Philadelphia on February 14, 1760. At the age of four years he was sold to a Delaware planter. His master being a kindly person, allowed Allen to

purchase himself for 60 pounds of gold and silver when he was grown. Shortly before he had purchased his freedom, he was converted to Methodism. For the next three years, he traveled through New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland preaching to white and colored. In 1786, he settled in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, having been licensed to preach four years earlier. With Absalom Jones he withdrew from St. George's Church. A few years later after holding services in his blacksmith shop, he established the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church. He later became the founder of the present denomination bearing this name. Although his formal education was limited, he was a good organizer, a natural leader, an unusual judge of human nature, and an eloquent orator. Like Forten, he became affiliated with every movement that promoted racial progress and was equally as active against any movement whose object was racial persecution.

Allen was always industrious. This virtue, plus economy, enabled him to leave a fortune of between \$30,000 and \$40,000 at his death. He held the respect of Negroes of all denominations, and his advice about matters affecting them was sought by white and colored alike. The high esteem in which he was held was shown at the time of his funeral in 1831 when an immense crowd of both races paid him its last tribute. The church which he founded is today the largest Negro Methodist denomination. Throughout the years, it has provided a large part of the leadership for the Negro race in America.

ABSALOM JONES, for many years a close associate of Richard Allen, was born a slave in Sussex, Delaware on November 6, 1746. His master took him from the field into the house while he was still quite young. Visitors gave him pennies with which he purchased a primer, a spelling book and a Testament, all of which he used during leisure hours. When sixteen, he, his mother, five brothers, and a sister, were purchased, Absalom being sent to Philadelphia, where he worked in a store. For a short time, with his master's permission, he attended night school, during which time he became actively interested in civic affairs affecting the interest of his people. Thus, he joined Forten and Allen in the anti-colonization movement which started a short time before his death. Upon purchasing the freedom of his wife and then his own, he continued to broaden his education by acquiring a large vocabulary and a good knowledge of language usage; he became a splendid conversationalist.

After establishing St. Thomas' Church, he was ordained its minister on August 6, 1795, thereby becoming the first Negro rector in the northern United States. He served in this capacity for 22 years, during which time and before he was in the forefront of movements to promote the welfare of his race. He died on February 13, 1818. Large numbers of clergy and laity of both races were in attendance at his funeral rites. St. Thomas' Church continues today as a memorial to its founder.

STEPHEN SMITH was born in Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, in 1796. At the age of five, he was indentured to General Boude

who later placed him in charge of this extensive business before he was twenty-one. When he was twenty-one he married Harriet Lee, shortly after which he purchased his freedom on January 3, 1816, with \$50 he had borrowed from John Barber. He began at once to buy and sell lumber. Within a short time, he owned, in Columbia, one of the largest lumber yards along the river shore. Later, he became a real estate dealer and acquired much property. This caused resentment among many whites. He became the largest stockholder in the Columbia Bank and therefore, according to its rules, should have become its president. However, his color proved a barrier, but he was permitted to name its president. During the Columbia riots in 1834, his office was ransacked after which other persecutions followed. Tiring of such activities, he finally moved to Philadelphia in 1842, where real estate and stock dealings again increased his financial resources.

Like other of his contemporaries, he was both a charitable and a zealous worker for the welfare of his racial group. He took part in every movement that meant improved conditions for the Negro and contributed generously to all such worthy causes. He built the Zion Mission, secured Olive Cemetery as a burial place for Negroes and donated thousands of dollars to the Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons. At the time of his death, November 14, 1873, he was reported to be the richest Negro in the United States, possessing more than \$200,000 worth of real estate.

WILLIAM WHIPPER, Stephen Smith's business partner, was one of the brainiest men of his time. With Smith he composed the firm of Whipper and Smith, which became well known through the State. He followed the trend of his contemporaries in generosity and promotion of racial welfare. While still in Columbia, he was an active worker in the Underground Railroad movement, sheltering as many as seventeen hungry and penniless fugitives in one night. During this time, he sheltered hundreds of such persons, and for a period of years, contributed, directly or indirectly, not less than a thousand dollars of his earnings annually to the cause of freedom. He was one of the active participants in the first convention held in Philadelphia in 1831. During the next thirty years he was a leading figure in conventions and important movements in interest of Negroes. Although he was not known as a public speaker, he was called upon more frequently than any man to draft resolutions and prepare addresses.

Whipper spent the later years of his life at New Brunswick, New Jersey, though his business interests brought him frequently to Pennsylvania. He was a very simple and modest person who, at seventy, refused to give an account of his life because, as he said, he was "too busy". This refusal has kept hidden some of the most interesting facts of his life. He died on March 9, 1876.

ROBERT PURVIS, one of the most outstanding men of his race, was born in Charleston, South Carolina, August 4, 1810, of a free-born Negro woman and an Englishman. In 1819, his father

retired from business in preparation for returning permanently to England. He sent his wife and four sons to Philadelphia, but died before his plans had been completed. Robert Purvis was educated in Pennsylvania and New England, after which he settled in Philadelphia.

William Purvis, the father of Robert, was much opposed to slavery and had instructed his children in its evils while they were still quite young. Robert was just twenty when he met Benjamin Lundy and William Lloyd Garrison through whom he became interested in the abolition movement. From then until it ended, he worked incessantly to abolish the institution of slavery.

He became a member of the American Anti-Slavery Society upon its formation in 1833, and was one of the most active persons of the Underground Railroad groups. His time, his money, and his home were placed at the disposal of the organization in order to assist escaping slaves to freedom. At one time he was president of the organization. The daughter of James Forten became his wife and worked with him in the various movements which sought to obtain justice for the Negro. Being a frequent and an eloquent speaker at public gatherings, he never hesitated to speak exactly as he felt. He lived to see slavery abolished. Thereafter, he turned his attention to the problems of the new freedom. Having served his race for more than sixty years, he died in 1898.

DANIEL ALEXANDER PAYNE was born of free parents on February 24, 1811, in Charleston, South Carolina. His parents

died before he was ten and he was reared by a grand-aunt. He showed a desire for an education at an early age; as he grew older, he would often study late at night after a day's work or from four to six in the morning before beginning work.

Payne was zealous also for an education for his race; at eighteen years of age, he started a day school in his home and a night school for adults. In 1834, South Carolina outlawed the teaching of colored children. The law became effective April 1, 1835, at which time Payne came to Pennsylvania and entered the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg. Four years later he became an ordained Lutheran minister. In the latter part of the following year, 1840, he came to Philadelphia, and before long had established a private school. This same year he was accepted as a local minister in the Philadelphia Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. His continued interest in education impelled him to aid a number of young colored men in the city to obtain higher education. In 1852, he was elected Bishop of the A. M. E. Church and induced this organization to purchase Wilberforce University. In his later years, he was its head for a period of sixteen years, thus becoming the first Negro college president in the country. Payne died on November 20, 1893.

WILLIAM STILL was born of escaped slave parents in Burlington County, New Jersey, on October 7, 1821. As soon as he was old enough, he began working on the farm and in various other capacities until he was seventeen. Being able to attend school only on rainy days, his education was con-

sequently quite limited. However, it was improved by reading historical and geographical books.

In an effort to increase his opportunities, he came to Philadelphia in the spring of 1844. He followed laborious work for a time, later, he accepted less strenuous employment in the home of Mrs. E. Langdon, an aged and wealthy widow. Many of his leisure hours were spent in reading. In 1847, he accepted the job of clerk in the office of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society at \$3.75 per week thereby becoming acquainted with the abolition movement in which he was one of its most outstanding workers. He was known as a "conductor" on the Underground Railroad and his home became known as a "station" thereon. His extreme interest in this work and those for whom he worked led him to keep a record of all "passengers" of the "railroad". In later years he became secretary of the organization. During the Civil War, he hid these records; after it was over he published them in book form under the title THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD. It is, perhaps, the best account of slave days and slave ways in existence.

Finally Still entered the field of business, dealing at first in stoves, then in coal, becoming successful in each. Much of his profits were used in the interest of his race. In cash and land he donated \$38,000 to the Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons. This institution continues to render a very valuable service. Although its Negro donors are not able to make large individual contributions, the number of Negro contributors and the amount they give are worthy of Still, Smith,

and other Negroes of their day. Among other things, Still was a leader in the movement to give Negroes the right to ride on street cars in Philadelphia. He helped to organize the Colored Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphan Home, the YMCA and numerous other agencies and institutions. On the whole, as founder, organizer, director and donor to great movements, William Still was the foremost Negro of his time. For fifty-four years he was active in the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery, during which time he also served as president and vice-president. In 1901 he died.

JOHN MCKEE, the first Negro millionaire in this country, was born in Alexandria, Virginia, in 1822. At the age of twenty-one, he came to Philadelphia, where for a year he worked in a menial capacity; thereafter, he went into the service of James Prosser, a Negro restaurateur. He married the proprietor's daughter and later conducted the business when Prosser retired in 1866. Though he seems to have had no formal education, he possessed much common sense and a business acumen which enabled him to enter the real estate business and amass a fortune. He acquired between three and four hundred pieces of property in Philadelphia.

He was both founder and owner of McKee City, New Jersey, and possessor of more than 300,000 acres of coal and oil land in Kentucky and West Virginia. More than 23,000 acres were in his name in two New York counties, and he owned a 66-acre farm in Delaware exclusive of properties held in other States. At his death in 1902, he was conceded the richest Negro in the world.

FRANCES ELLEN WATKINS HARPER was one of the foremost Negro women of the nineteenth century. She was born in Baltimore of free parentage in 1825. At the age of three, she lost her mother and was cared for by an aunt during her early years; an uncle who taught school for free colored children gave her her first education. At the age of thirteen, she was removed from school and put to work. However, her employer permitted her to read books found in the home, and this, no doubt, influenced her literary career. In 1851, she began teaching in Ohio. Very soon, however, she went to York, Pennsylvania, where she continued her work and became interested in the anti-slavery movement. Upon coming to Philadelphia she threw herself whole-heartedly into the cause and for six years toured the North and Canada, lecturing in its interest. In 1860, she married a Mr. Harper, and for a while was inactive in public life. However, after his death, a few years later, she returned to public life in the service of her people. After the Civil War, she went south to work among those newly freed people.

In later years, she worked for the cause of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and for a number of years had charge of this work among the Negroes of Philadelphia. Her career was a varied and colorful one; many of the incidents connected with it were translated into her literary writings. When she died in Philadelphia, in 1911, she had won national recognition.

MARTIN ROBINSON DELANY was born at Charleston, Virginia, May 6, 1812. On July 29, 1831, in

need of employment and dissatisfied with educational facilities in his home town, he set out from Pittsburgh. Three years later he was actively organizing associations for the relief of the poor and 'moral elevation of his people'. Among these were the Temperance Society and the Philanthropic Society. The latter organization ostensibly formed for relief of the indigent, was in reality one of the first great links on the Underground Railroad connecting slaves with friends in the North. Delany was for years, secretary of its executive board.

"In 1843, after visits to New Orleans and Texas, Delany returned to Pittsburgh and began publication of one of the earliest and foremost Abolitionist newspapers, The Mystery. This man 'of most defiant blackness', of whom Frederick Douglass said, 'I thank God for making me a man simply, but Delany always thanks him for making him a black man', completely identified himself with a people and a time at once wonderful and perilous. After serving for a time as editor of The Mystery, Delany assisted Frederick Douglass in the publication of the North Star at Rochester, New York. He left the North Star in Douglas's hands in 1849 and returned to Pittsburgh where he resumed his study of medicine, begun earlier in his career. On the strength of the teaching of his former instructors, Dr. Gazzam and Dr. LeMoyné, he was registered in the medical college at Harvard.

"Delany graduated from Harvard in 1852 and then began another of his numerous lecture tours. Subsequently, he wrote and published a book entitled The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States. Back in Pittsburgh he practiced medicine and won honor by his skilled treatment of the victims of the cholera epidemic of 1854.

"With the outbreak of the Civil War he became concerned with the role the Negro should play in the victory of the Union troops and the emancipation of the slaves. On February 8, 1865 Delany obtained an interview with Lincoln for the purpose of founding an army of black men, under black commanders. 'The sight of which is required', he told Lincoln, 'to give confidence to the slaves, and retain them to the Union, stop foreign intervention, and speedily bring the war to a close'.

Lincoln was impressed. He gave Delany a note to Stanton, Secretary of War, which read: 'Do not fail to have an interview with this most extraordinary and intelligent black man. A. Lincoln'.

"Delany saw Stanton, convinced him of his plan and on February 27 was mustered into service as a Major in the 104th Regiment of Colored Troops. He had his own son appointed as acting-Lieutenant - this was Toussaint L. Delany, a private in the 54th Massachusetts Volunteers. On July 15, 1865, Delany was relieved of his military duties but retained in the service as sub-assistant commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau. His policies in the bureau laid the basis for Booker T. Washington's advocacy of industrial education for Negroes.

"He was a leader in all movements where abolition, free public education, and the rights of women were advocated. Delany was one of the nation's leading Negroes of his time. He died on January 24, 1885."

"JOHN B. VASHON was born in 1792 at Norfolk, Virginia. His mother was a mulatto, his father, Captain George Vashon, a white man of French ancestry, was an Indian agent under President Van Buren. Vashon came to Pittsburgh with his wife and son in 1829, from Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where he had kept a large livery stable and a public saloon which was popular with Dickinson College students.

"Vashon, at twenty, served in the War of 1812 as a common seaman aboard the Revenge, cruising among the West Indies and along the coast of South America. Off the coast of Brazil he was made a prisoner, exchanged, returned to Virginia and served with the land forces when Negroes were called to prevent the British fleet from ascending the Potomac. In Carlisle, with his friend John Peck, he initiated the formation of a mutual improvement association known as the Lay Benevolent Society. A man of thirty-seven when he arrived in Pittsburgh, he engaged in every progressive movement of the time. For a livelihood he opened a barber shop and public baths, the first public baths for ladies west of the mountains.

"John Vashon was among the first to promote National Negro Conventions not only for the freeing of slaves but for the struggle for equal rights in an expanding democratic republic. He claimed before anything else to be an American, a name he loved as dearly as he loved the word liberty. And he devoted his life to making them synonymous. He was the Pittsburgh agent for the distribution of William Lloyd Garrison's Thoughts on Colonization, and The Liberator. He persuaded leading Pittsburghers such as Robert Bruce, the President of the University of Western Pennsylvania, to give up their support of schemes for colonization of Negroes and to become active in the anti-slavery movement. In 1833, in the parlor of his house on Third Street, the first anti-slavery society west of the Allegheny Mountains was formed. He was for a time president of the Temperance Society, and the Moral Reform Society. On a visit to Boston he saw William Lloyd Garrison led by a rope through the streets at the hands of a mob who opposed his abolitionist activities. Vashon, an ex-soldier, and a fiery lover of freedom, stood stricken and helpless, weeping at the sight. The next day he appeared at the prison with a new hat for Garrison to replace the one which had been greatly abused by the mob on the day before.

"In July, 1853, Vashon was elected one of the vice-presidents of the National Convention of Colored Men at Rochester, N.Y., and was also a member of the Pennsylvania State Council. At the National Convention in Philadelphia in 1855, Vashon, who had never received a soldier's pension, nor government lands for his military service, insisted on taking his seat as a soldier delegate among the defenders of his country. At the station, on the way to the State Council and Military Convention, while he sat resting on his trunk, he died of a heart attack - the citizen soldier, lover of liberty and democratic equality, in 1855."

JOHN BUNYAN REEVE was born in Mattiuck, New York, on October 29, 1831. He attended New York Central College at McGrawsville, N.Y., graduating in 1853. In September of that year, he entered Union Theological Seminary and was graduated with honors June 14, 1861 as the institution's first Negro student. - Shortly after graduation, he came to Philadelphia where, in 1865, he was selected moderator of the Fourth Presbytery and also Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. Lincoln University bestowed its first honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity upon him in 1870. The following year he was chosen to organize a theological department at Howard University, and served as its head for four years; thereafter he devoted his time to his pastorate at Central Presbyterian Church. He was a participant and leader in many movements for racial betterment. His fine Christian character and honesty of purpose enabled him to render outstanding services. In 1911, a golden jubilee celebrating his fiftieth year in the ministry was held at Central Presbyterian Church. He lived to be eighty-four years of age, dying in January of 1916.

GENERAL THOMAS MORRIS CHESTER was born on March 11, 1834 in Harrisburg. He attended Avery Institute and in 1853 went to Liberia. In Monrovia, Liberia, he attended the high school until 1854 at which time he returned to the United States and entered the junior class of the Thetford Academy in Thetford, Vermont, from which he was graduated in 1856 with second honors. Immediately upon graduation, he returned

to Liberia where he became Superintendent of the Colony of Africans who had been recaptured from American slaves. There he remained until the outbreak of the Civil War. Upon his return to America, he assisted the enlistment of Negro soldiers in the 54th and 55th Massachusetts Regiments. In 1864, he studied short-hand writing and became a special war correspondent of the Philadelphia Press with the Army of the James and the Potomac until the surrender of Lee. His report of the capture of Richmond was twenty-four hours in advance of any other at the front.

The following statement is taken from APPLETON'S ANNUAL CYCLOPEDIA AND REGISTER OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1892:

"In 1866 he visited Europe and passed the winter in Russia, where he was a special guest of Emperor Alexander II at a review of 40,000 troops in St. Petersburg. He then visited the courts of Denmark, Sweden, Saxony, and England, and was well received by the literary men of Paris. After spending four years in European travel, he studied law at Middle Temple Inn, London, and was admitted to the English bar in 1870, being the first colored lawyer in England.

"In 1871 he settled in Louisiana, where he practiced law, and was active in establishing schools for the education of the colored people. He also was appointed commander of the 1st brigade of the State militia.

"Mr. Chester was U. S. Commissioner from 1873 till 1879, and became President of the Wilmington, Wrightville and Onslow Railroad Company in 1884." (1)

(1)

New Series, Vol. XVII, whole series, Vol. XXXII, Appleton and Company, New York, 1893, P. 540

In his business, political, and military affairs, he was honest, intelligent, and courageous. He sought the highest achievement for himself and for his race. General Chester was respected and beloved by thousands of persons of both races. He died on September 30, 1892.

OCTAVIUS VALENTINE CATTO was born in Charleston, South Carolina, February 22, 1840, and at six was brought to Philadelphia by his father. He entered the Institute for Colored Youth and, upon his graduation, became assistant to Mr. Bassett, who was then principal. Together, they coached the first two classes of colored women for teachers' examinations for the Philadelphia public schools. All twenty-one candidates were successful. Catto was also an orator of exceptional calibre. He fought for the rights of his race, and was in the forefront of the struggle to win the right for Negroes to ride in street cars.

Negroes had just recently been franchised when the fall elections of 1871 took place. Intimidation, assault, and actual murder were employed by whites in an effort to prevent Negroes from exercising their right to vote. Catto insisted upon using his right of franchise and was killed in the attempt. He was shot down in front of a police station by one of three white gangsters. At his funeral on October 16, he was mourned by practically the whole city; many city offices and schools were closed. The City Council was present in a body. Some members of the State Legislature and many high in military circles were among the throng which paid tribute to him.

WILLIAM C. BOLIVAR was born in Philadelphia on April 18, 1849. At an early age, he showed a tendency to collect books, instruments, and curiosities. As the years passed, during his travels he acquired many rare objects, printed and written works on various subjects, until he had both a large and varied collection. Magazines, addresses, manuscripts, autographed letters, were a few of the items of his miscellaneous collection. Material on America, Africa, the Negro and Lincoln were exceptionally large. His Lincoln collection was said to be the best of its kind then in existence.

Bolivar was one of the best known Negro bibliophiles in the United States. His library was the most extensive of any private library in the country. He wrote as well as collected literature. He was co-editor of MURRY'S COLORED ENCYCLOPEDIA, and for twenty-two years wrote for the Philadelphia Tribune under the title of "Pencil Pusher". He organized the American Negro Historical Society which, while he lived, kept the public informed on Negro achievements. He was also a corresponding member of the Negro Society for Historical Research of Yonkers, New York. Shortly after his death in Philadelphia on November 11, 1914, his collections were sold to a prominent Negro of Washington.

LEVI J. COPPIN was born in Fredericktown, Maryland, either Christmas Eve or Christmas Day in 1848. He received his first instruction from his mother. Shortly after the Civil War, a day school was started and was open during January and February.

He attended these months, and during the remaining ten months worked on a farm. With the money he saved at his work he came to Philadelphia where he finally entered the ministry. His first charge was at the Philadelphia City Mission. He became pastor of Bethel in that city and later was appointed to Allen Chapel. During the same period he attended the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School in West Philadelphia and completed its three-year course.

The General Conference elected him editor of the A. M. E. Church Review in 1838, and 1900 he was elected bishop. Later, he was one of five bishops sent to carry on the work of his Church in Africa. After four years in Africa, he returned to America, making Philadelphia his home while he served in various parts of the South and Middle West. He died in Philadelphia on June 25, 1924.

FANNIE MURIEL JACKSON COPPIN was born a slave in Washington, D. C., in the late 1840's. As she showed signs of promise, an aunt saved \$150.00 with which she purchased her freedom. At fifteen years of age, she obtained employment in Newport, Rhode Island. Her employer allowed her one hour every other afternoon for instruction, for which she paid seven dollars per month. At her next place of employment, she was allowed one hour each week for study in vocal and instrumental music in preparation for State Normal School. Bishop Daniel A. Payne secured a scholarship for her to Oberlin College from which, in 1865, she was the first Negro American woman graduate. After graduation, she accepted a position as teacher in the Institute

for Colored Youth. When Ebenezer D. Bassett, the principal, was appointed Minister to Haiti in 1869, she became his successor. For thirty-five years, she continued her work in Philadelphia during which time she inaugurated a number of projects in the interest of Negro girls and women.

In 1881, she married Bishop Levi J. Coppin. When he was sent to Africa, Mrs. Coppin resigned her position at the Institute to accompany him. They returned to America after about four years. She died in Philadelphia on January 21, 1913.

"The Reverend MATTHEW ANDERSON was born at Greencastle, Pennsylvania on January 25, 1848. His early boyhood was spent on his father's farm in Pennsylvania.

"In 1874 he left Oberlin with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. He then entered Princeton Seminary. He was graduated as one of the first Negroes from Princeton in 1877. While doing his advanced studies at Yale, he pastored the Temple Street Congregational Church at New Haven. Lincoln University gave him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

"In 1888, he founded the Berean Building and Loan Association, which is now known as the Berean Savings and Loan Association, the only one for colored people with Federal Insurance in the East. In 1889, the Berean Manual Training and Industrial School was established. Thousands of youths and adults have been made better because of its being and hundreds are proud graduates from its vocational courses. Matthew Anderson's fertile brain gave a triple service of church, Building and Loan Association and School to the community in which he worked and toiled.

"Dr. Anderson's first wife, Caroline V. Anderson, M.D., died in 1919. He gave unstinted praise for the untiring effort she contributed toward the success of his works. In 1920, he married Blanche E. Williams of Harrisburg, Pa., who is now carrying on the administrative work of Berean School.

"On the occasion of a Founder's Day celebration in 1932, Dr. Arthur Huff Fauset, Secretary of the Board of Trustees, wrote: 'Berean still is Matthew Anderson. He would have had it so: it is his due. He labored hard and built it. His temple flourishes. But even greater than his temple is the inspiration of the strong, well-rounded leader. The world cries now for his kind of vigorous leadership. The Negro race greatly needs men of his tested stamina and spiritual integrity. The forth-right utterances of the man, his moods and postures, the ringing clarity of his conviction, his driving power and sureness under God--these we remember, and remembering are impelled to continue his work and thereby vindicate his faith.'

"From Dr. Anderson's own writings we quote: 'Two thoughts and only two, have inspired and impelled my action from the beginning of my ministry in Philadelphia to the present:

1. A clear, burning sense of a great need.
2. That if I would move forward, God would supply that need.'

"He died on January 11, 1928."

"CHRISTOPHER JAMES PERRY, 2nd, was born in Baltimore, Md., September 11, 1854, where he spent his boyhood, and attended the public schools. He came to Philadelphia as a youth, and worked in private families, attending night schools that he might further complete his education. He early showed inclination for and engaged in newspaper work, being associated with white dailies, and at one time conducting the colored department of The Sunday Mirror. When this publication suspended its issues in November, 1884, Mr. Perry began the publication of The Philadelphia Tribune, thus founding one of our race's greatest papers. He continued this publication for 36 consecutive years, and it still is being managed by his children today, a monument to his work and skill and faith. In politics he served as a member of the Common Council for ten years, also was Assistant Appearance Clerk in the Sheriff's office for twelve years, and was the first colored City Highway Inspector to be appointed.

"He was brought up in the Madison Street Presbyterian Church of Baltimore, Md., where his father, Christopher James Perry, Sr, was an elder for years. About 1869, he came to Philadelphia, and later he joined the Lombard Street Central Presbyterian Church, remaining a useful and active member for many years. He served on various church committees, and was trustee of the corporation for a long period of service, being beloved by his colleagues. He was Superintendent of Central Church's Sunday School also for a number of years. Aside from his active Christian service in Central Church, his public service, both through the columns of his paper and through the lecture platform were uncompromisingly against race prejudice. Vigorous protest against this evil in the case of discrimination against colored children was made by him.

"He was one of the founders of Mercy Hospital, and served as a member of the first Board of Directors; for many years President of the National Negro Press Association; member of the Board of Directors of Home for the Protection of Colored Women, and member of the Citizens' Republican Club.

"It was the proud boast of Mr. Perry that he successfully resisted the hundreds of appeals made by individuals and those representing syndicates to secure a part ownership of the paper. These appeals came not alone from people of his own race, but also from politicians and business men and women of other races who at one time or another sought to control his powerful publication."

ROBERT L. VANN was born in Ahoskie, North Carolina, on August 29, 1879. After much hardship and sacrifice, he was graduated from Waters Institute at Winston, North Carolina in 1901. He then entered Virginia Union University from which he was graduated with honors. Upon graduation from Virginia Union University he was awarded an Avery Scholarship to the Law School of the University of Pittsburgh.

He was graduated from the University of Pittsburgh in 1909 and was admitted to the bar in that same year. Immediately thereafter, he opened his law office in Pittsburgh. In 1910, he married Jessie Matthews of Gettysburg, who was his helpmate and inspiration through his blissful married life of over thirty years. As a lawyer Mr. Vann achieved remarkable success. In a period of about twenty-eight years, he is known to have defended more than eighty persons charged with murder. With reference to those cases for which he had full responsibility, not one of his clients was ever convicted of first degree murder. Because of his legal ability, he held the respect of the bar and bench of Pittsburgh. In addition to his law practice, Mr. Vann held many political positions. In 1918, the Mayor of Pittsburgh appointed him Assistant City Solicitor. In 1923, he was appointed by President Coolidge as a member of the Commission to the Virgin Islands. In 1935, Governor George H. Earle appointed him as a member of the committee to revise the constitution of the Commonwealth. In 1933, President Roosevelt appointed him as a Special Assistant to the Attorney-General.

Although Mr. Vann was an excellent lawyer and an able politician, his greatest contributions were made as the Editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, of which he became Editor in 1910 and remained in this capacity until his death in 1940. The paper grew under his editorship and became one of the nation's most vigorous and influential papers. His editorials which were widely read by persons of both races throughout the nation,

made him a national figure. He opposed what he thought was the "President's idea to pack the Supreme Court" and wrote editorials thereupon. On Sunday, March 7, 1937, under the heading, "The Best Editorial of the Day", the Chicago Tribune, the nation's largest newspaper, reprinted an editorial of Mr. Vann on the Supreme Court. In the issue of June 4, 1938, the Saturday Evening Post carried an article setting forth the merits of Mr. Vann as a leader and the Pittsburgh Courier as an important publication. Frank Kent, well known political writer of the Baltimore Sun, wrote several articles from 1937 to 1939 on Mr. Vann's leadership in the Democratic Party and his influence in national elections. In 1936, David Lawrence, of the United States Daily, invited Mr. Vann, Senator Barry of Tennessee, and Norman Thomas to write comments on the reasons for Mr. Roosevelt's re-election in 1936. In the same year, James A. Farley, then National Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, appointed Mr. Vann as special adviser to the National Committee of the Democratic Party. His victory was one not only for himself but for the Negro press, which well deserves such importance in national life.

In memorial to him are (1) the Robert L. Vann High School of Ahoskie, North Carolina, the city of his birth; (2) the Robert L. Vann School of Pittsburgh; (3) his friends have, in conjunction with Virginia Union University, erected the Robert L. Vann Memorial Tower on the campus of the University; and (4) the agency which enabled him to render his greatest service, the Pittsburgh Courier. He is survived by his wife, who is

helping to keep the Courier in the forefront of American Negro journalism.

NATHAN FRANCIS MOSSELL, was born at Hamilton, Canada on July 27, 1856. As a child, he learned of slavery and its hardships and developed a keen sympathy for those suppressed or downtrodden, which, no doubt, in later years led him always to espouse the cause of his people. He attended Lincoln University, Pennsylvania from which he was graduated in 1879. He was the first Negro to enter the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania, being graduated therefrom in 1882. In 1895, he founded the Frederick Douglass Hospital. Although most of his time was devoted to medicine, he found time to initiate and participate in movements for the betterment of the Negro and was always a part of every worthwhile effort to secure better civic, political, and educational opportunities for the race. He has served his people for more than a half century. Dr. Mossell is the only one of the early leaders still living. Although he is eighty-six years of age, he is still a guiding influence in Negro life in Philadelphia. He is an inspiring character and a noble citizen.

4. CULTURAL PROGRESS

A. Music

From Colonial days to the present, Negroes have contributed much to the artistic growth of the State and nation. Unfortunately, space will permit only the listing of a few of the most outstanding persons. One may begin with Frank Johnson's Band,

which was one of the first organizations in this field. It came into prominence about 1815 and toured this country and Europe, where it gave a command performance before Queen Victoria, who rewarded the leader with a silver bugle. Johnson was also a composer, as well as a ~~trumpeter~~. He played the trumpet and the Kent bugle. Some of his compositions were played by his band when General Lafayette was entertained at the Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia in 1825.

The Robert Curtis Ogden Band was organized by the colored employees of the John Wanamaker Store of Philadelphia in 1912. It won the Interstate Trophy on four different occasions during 1921 and 1922. About 50 musicians composed the band whose renditions were mainly classical. At intervals, it rendered concerts at the Wanamaker store.

Even during slavery, Negroes displayed musical ability as composers and instrumentalists. In his book: THE NEGRO IN PENNSYLVANIA, Turner records a Negro slave who made and played upon a fiddle without any assistance. He also speaks of slaves who made considerable money by playing their fiddles on the streets. Atkinson's Casket, a musical journal, listed among its contributors in 1829, a Negro pianist, James Hemmenway of Philadelphia. Just after emancipation, a composer, Edwin Hill, gained fame through his secular and sacred compositions.

Among the most outstanding of the State's contemporary Negro instrumentalists are: Carl R. Diton, the first Negro pianist to make a transcontinental tour of the country and also recipient of the first prize in the National Negro Composition Contest. Professor James E. Dorsey has won distinction

as a conductor of choral groups and also as a composer.

~~Another musician:~~ **Dr. W. Franklin Hoxter**, organist and choral director, **has** organized and trained 2,500 Negro voices for the Sesqui-Centennial Exposition; William L. King, pianist, organist, and conductor, has accompanied Roland Hayes and Marian Anderson; Kenneth Goodman, organist, ^{was} the winner of the 1938 Cultural Olympics Award for his excellent interpretations of difficult organ music.

One of the earliest Negro singers was Elizabeth Taylor Greenfield, called the "Black Swan". She was brought to Philadelphia from the South in 1810 while still a baby, and reared by a Quaker woman, Mrs. Greenfield, whose name she assumed. After the death of her benefactress, Elizabeth Greenfield visited some friends in Buffalo, New York, where she was invited to sing in the home of one of the prominent white citizens of the town who had heard her sing aboard ship on her passage across Lake Seneca. This venture led to her engagement to give a series of concerts, at which she demonstrated excellent ability in range, tonal quality, and interpretation. After her success in Buffalo, Miss Greenfield toured other cities of New York, most of the free states, and Toronto, Canada. Later, she spent a triumphant year in England, where she gave a command performance before Queen Victoria at Buckingham Palace. She returned to Philadelphia in 1854. Her career was continued until her death in 1876.

A male contemporary and student of "Black Swan" was Thomas J. Bowers, born in Philadelphia in 1836. After Miss Greenfield's return to America he made his first appearance

in recital as her pupil. A concert tour with her through New York State and Canada followed, during which his beautiful voice won much acclaim. All through his musical career, Mr. Bowers maintained a classic repertoire only. He won for himself the sobriquet, the "American Mario."

Harry T. Burleigh was born in Erie, Pennsylvania in 1866. He is one of the nation's outstanding composers. Mr. Burleigh has also won national and international distinction as a baritone soloist, having toured the United States and many foreign countries appearing before distinguished audiences. For more than forty-four years, he has been a soloist at St. George's Protestant Episcopal Church in New York City. Mr. Burleigh is beloved by thousands of people of both races. The dormitory for men at Cheyney Training School for Teachers is named for him.

Miss Marian Anderson, a native of Philadelphia, was educated in its public schools. As a child she sang in the choir of the Union Baptist Church of Philadelphia. The members of the Church and the Negroes of the city recognized and appreciated her talent. Through funds raised in a church concert she was enabled to become a private pupil of a famous Philadelphia Italian master. In many ways, her eminence is the joy and triumph of the common people. She began her formal career in 1924. In 1925, she won first prize in competition with three hundred others. This gave her the honor of appearing at the Lewisohn Stadium in New York City with the world famous New York Philhormonic Orchestra. Thence-

forth, her fame spread throughout America and the world. In 1940, she was the recipient of the Bok Award. She is generally regarded as the world's greatest contralto.

B. Painting and Sculpture

HENRY OSSAWA TANNER was born in Pittsburgh in 1859 and came to Philadelphia in 1870. In later years, he studied under Thomas Eakins at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia, where his work won much recognition from critics before they found that the artist was colored. In order to free himself from American race prejudice, he went to Paris in 1891, where his work was recognized immediately as that of a great artist. He became the recipient of many prizes before his death in Paris in 1937. In 1897 his painting "The Raising of Lazarus", won a gold medal and was purchased by the French Government and hung permanently in the Luxembourg. "The Annunciation" (1898); "Judas" (1899); "Nicodemus" (1900); were among his works of art praised and awarded prizes in America. Most of his paintings were Biblical in character. The Metropolitan Museum in New York, the John Wanamaker Store, Memorial Hall, the Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia, the Chicago Art Institute, the Los Angeles Art Gallery, and many private collections are among the places in America containing the work of this master artist. He was one of the nation's greatest painters.

Mr. Henry B. Jones, a native of Philadelphia, has received much commendation from eminent art critics for his

work in charcoal and watercolors and for his sketches. The Harmon Award Board gave him honorable mention for excellence in painting in 1928. In 1929, he received the Breckenridge Award at the International House in New York. Some of his paintings are in the public schools of Philadelphia.

The works of Allan R. Freelon, also a native Philadelphian, an art supervisor in the public schools, have been widely acclaimed. His works have been exhibited in the New England Exhibition of the Academy of Allied Arts, New York City, 1933; in the Whitney Museum of American Art, in the Whitney Museum Biennial of New York City in 1934 and 1936; and in the Art Commentary on Lynching exhibitions, Arthur U. Newton Galleries, New York City, 1935. His works have been exhibited also at the Sears Galleries in Washington, D. C.; Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia; Lincoln University, Pennsylvania; Langston University, Langston, Oklahoma, and Hampton Institute. From January 17 to 31, 1938, twenty-six paintings, etchings, aquatints, and drawings of Mr. Freelon were exhibited in the Sullivan Memorial Library of Temple University.

Mrs. Laura Wheeler Waring is a native of Hartford, Connecticut. From 1908 to 1914, she studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. Upon obtaining the Cresson Traveling Scholarship in 1914, she visited the famous art galleries in Europe. In 1924, she studied at the Academie de la Grande Chaumiere in Paris. In 1919, she received a gold medal and cash award, the first prize at the National Exhibit of Colored Artists, held that year in Baltimore, Maryland. In 1928, she

won the first prize in the fine arts division of the Harmon Foundation Awards. Her work includes portrait paintings, oil, and watercolor.

In 1929, she presented a very successful exhibit in Paris. Her works have also been exhibited at the Corcoran Art Gallery, Washington, D. C.; the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, the Chicago Art Institute; the New York Water Color Club, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, and Howard University in Washington, D. C.

In recent years, there has grown up a younger group of Negro painters. Some of them show promise of national eminence. Space permits us to mention only two of them. Dox Thrash was given his opportunity in Philadelphia by the WPA Art Project of Pennsylvania. His works have been exhibited widely through the State and in Washington. He discovered what is known as the Carborundum Print Process which many artists say is the most important practical discovery in the field of graphic arts in more than a century and a half. His discovery has won him nation-wide fame.

George Miller Victory has gained much recognition among Pennsylvania artists who speak of him as a primitive. His work is original; he has never studied at any art school and he paints almost wholly from memory. Several critics believe that his talents will win him permanent recognition in the future.

The most outstanding American Negro sculptor is a native of Philadelphia, Meta Warrick Fuller, who began her work in the

kindergarten modeling clay. Later, she won a free scholarship to the Pennsylvania School of Industrial Arts. Her first original work at the school was a head of Medusa, which brought her recognition. Hers was the experience of Tanner; in 1899, she went to Paris where she studied at L'Ecole des Beaux Arts for several years and won the praise of French critics, among them Rodin. While in Paris she produced "Oedipus", "The Breton Peasant", "Jean", "The Man Eating His Heart", etc., Mrs. Fuller returned to America receiving then the recognition formerly withheld. She then began work on Negro subjects, in which field she has done some of her best work. Among them are: "Humanity Freeing the Slave", "Ethiopia Breaking Her Bonds", "Inspiration Urging Negro Youth", and a likeness of Samuel Coleridge Taylor.

Another outstanding Negro sculptor, also a native of Philadelphia, is May Howard Jackson. Her work was exhibited at the Corcoran Art Gallery, Washington, D. C.; the Academy of Design and the Emancipation Exhibition, New York; and at the Harmon Exhibition in 1929.

C. Literature

Negro literature in Pennsylvania dates back to 1794 when Richard Allen and Absalom Jones wrote "A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Black People During the Late Awful Calamity in Philadelphia, and A Refutation of Some Censures Thrown Upon Them in Some Late Publications". The title explains the production which was a reply to Matthew Carey's malignant charges

against those men who had remained in Philadelphia to fight the yellow fever epidemic while Carey fled the city. It is a complete account of their work including their financial transactions. Although the grammatical construction is frequently faulty, the work is forceful and convincing.

Allen also wrote *TO THE PEOPLE OF COLOR*; in collaboration with David Tapisco, he wrote *THE DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE OF THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH* in 1817 and soon afterwards published a hymn book. His opposition to African colonization led him to write his *LETTER ON COLONIZATION*, which appeared in Freedom's Journal, November 2, 1827. *THE LIFE, EXPERIENCE AND GOSPEL LABORS OF THE RT. REV. RICHARD ALLEN* was not published until 1880, some years after his death. It was the first autobiography written by a racial leader.

A contemporary of Allen and Jones was James Forten, Sr., the first Pennsylvania Negro to attain any major literary distinction. His continual efforts in behalf of the welfare and civil rights of his people led to his writings. Among his earliest were: *LETTERS FROM A MAN OF COLOUR* written in 1813 in protest against a bill to prohibit further immigration of Negroes which was introduced into the State Legislature that year. These letters, written under an anonymous name and later attributed to Forten, frustrated the passage of the bill that year and prevented its return later. In December, 1818, he collaborated with Russell Parrot on: *AN ADDRESS TO THE HUMANE AND BENEVOLENT INHABITANTS OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA*, which was also a plea for Negro rights.

Robert Purvis, a contemporary of Forten, resorted to writing also in the attempt to secure justice for the Negro. When in 1838 the State Legislature tried to deny the Negro the right of franchise, he wrote: AN APPEAL OF FORTY THOUSAND CITIZENS THREATENED WITH DISFRANCHISEMENT TO THE PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA. It appeared first as a pamphlet and was later reprinted in anti-slavery journals. He continued this practice throughout the anti-slavery and colonization movements.

In the 1840's there appeared a large number of Negro authors of works on religion, slavery, and Negro welfare. One of the most important works of the next decade was: THE CONDITION, ELEVATION, EMIGRATION, AND DESTINY OF THE COLORED PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES POLITICALLY CONSIDERED, by Martin R. Delany which was published in 1852. This work gives an account of Negro social life a quarter century prior to the Civil War.

Charles L. Reason is best known for his poetry though he did write some prose. The most widely known Negro writer of the nineteenth Century was Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, who wrote essays, poems, short stories, and one novel. This novel, IOLA LEROY, or SHADOWS UPLIFTED, was the first written by an American Negro woman. It received favorable comments from Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Chicago papers.

Two other outstanding works of the nineteenth century were: THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE KINGDOM OF LIGHT AND DARKNESS, or, THE REIGNS OF KING ALPHA AND ABADON, by Lorenzo D. Blackson; and THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD by William Still. The

former is an unusual and unique work of imagination, the latter is the most remarkable record of the Underground Railroad in existence.

The new century brought a new phase in Negro literature. The names of six Pennsylvanians stand out as contributors to this new trend: Alain Leroy Locke, essayist and literary critic; Jessie Fauset, poet and novelist; Henry B. Jones, short story and play writer; Dr. Arthur Huff Fauset, writer of folk-lore and Negro history; Alice Dunbar Nelson, poet, editor, and short story writer; and Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, educator, poet, and author.

Locke is the only American Negro who has won the Rhodes Scholarship. His articles have been published in the leading American periodicals. He has also edited and written many books, one of which is THE NEW NEGRO, an anthology published in 1925. Among his earlier essays is: "Race Contacts and Interracial Relations", "The Negro's Contribution to American Art and Literature", "The Legacy of the Ancestral Arts," and "African Art".

Poems, essays, short stories and novels have come from the pen of Jessie Fauset but she is probably best known for her novels which portray the sociological problem of the American Negro. PLUM BUN, THERE IS CONFUSION, COMEDY AMERICAN STYLE and CHINABERRY TREE are only a few.

Henry Bozeman Jones has won distinction as an artist as well as a writer. His short stories, which have an African setting, have appeared in such periodicals as Argosy, Forum,

Popular Publications, Opportunity, and New Era. His story, "Without Drums", was the first by a Negro author to be published in Liberty. Up to 1939, for a period of seven consecutive years, Edward O'Brien included some of Jones' short stories in his BEST SHORT STORIES OF THE YEAR. "Root Deena," "Gin and Moonlight", "Jungle Blood" were among the stories selected. The famous Hedgerow Players also included the **last** in their repertoire.

Dr. Arthur Huff Fauset has done much research in folklore and Negro history, and the results are reflected in his writings. FOLK-LORE IN NOVA SCOTIA and his various articles appearing in the Journal of American Folk-Lore are examples of the former; FOR FREEDOM, which is also biographical, is an example of the latter. "Symphoniesque", a short story, and SOJOURNER TRUTH, a biography, are also the products of his pen.

Alice Dunbar Nelson's early years were spent in her native city, New Orleans, so many of her short stories center around that locale, depicting the various life phases of the inhabitants. One of them: "The Praline Woman", is an excellent characterization of a Creole saleswoman. One collection of her stories appears in a volume entitled VIOLETS AND OTHER TALES. Her essays were published in many periodicals and some of her writings in various newspapers. One of her last stories: "August Quarterly" was published shortly before her death in Philadelphia in 1937.

Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, President of the State Teachers

College, Cheyney, Pennsylvania, has won national recognition as a poet. His poems have been published in several of the nation's leading periodicals and are found in Negro anthologies. His production, JETHRO, has received much favorable criticism.

In 1927, he published, THE WINGS OF OPPRESSION, a book of lyrics; in 1929 "Toussaint L'Overture", a drama; and in 1933, "Marc Anders", an idyl.

HOUSING

On account of low income, the pattern of residential segregation and its consequent artificial housing scarcity, Negroes are forced to occupy the more congested, blighted, deteriorating neighborhoods and the more sub-standard dwellings of any neighborhood in which they live. Because the Negro population of the State is 99% non farm, its housing problems are disproportionately intensified by migration to urban centers due to the war effort. Housing is related to every major aspect of modern family life. Because of the various ramifications of racial discrimination and low income, the Negro home has more responsibilities than the white home. Howbeit, housing is so important to all citizens that the following quotation seems very appropriate:

"Why is the Housing Problem Important?

A. To the individual?

"Because:

"1. A man working 44 hours a week, 50 weeks in the year, 30 minutes distance from home, spends from a minimum of one-third to a maximum of substantially over two-thirds of his time at home. Illness or unemployment increases the fraction.

"2. A homemaking woman spends from two-thirds to nineteen-twentieths of her time at home.

"3. A preschool child spends from two-thirds to nineteen-twentieths of his time there.

"4. A school child spends from half to more than three-fourths of his time there.

B. To the family?

"Because:

"1. All its functions, biological, social, and administrative, center in the home - eating, sleeping, procreation, child nurture, preparation of food, and care of clothing.

"2. Its health, comfort, social and civic life, in short its degree of civilization, depend very largely on qualities inherent in the structural plant which forms its shelter.

C. To the community?

"Not only because:

"1. More of its area is used for housing than for any other purpose.

"2. Residential property contributes about half of its real-property-tax income.

"3. Services for residential areas (including schools) consume somewhat more than half of the community income from real-property taxes.

"But also because:

"4. The most important function of any community is to build, maintain, and protect its homes and the families within them. Industry, business, and government are means toward this end.

D. To the Nation?

"1. Residential construction is one of its major industries and one worst hit by the depression of the early 1930's.

"2. Past cycles of activity and inactivity in residential construction have preceded eras of national prosperity and hard times with a rhythm suggestive of some causal relationship.

"But also because:

"3. The fundamental purpose of organized society is to produce a better crop of children by team work and technology than was attainable through the rugged individualism of the stone-age hunter.

"4. Homemaking women, raising children, are the largest occupational group in the population. They are producing, by all odds, the most important national asset. Their working places should conform at least to the requirements of industrial hygiene." (1)

(1) Wood, Edith Elmer, "Introduction to Housing Facts and Principles", U.S. Housing Authority, Washington, 1940, PP. ix-xi.

5. THE STATUS OF NEGRO HOUSING IN SEVERAL MUNICIPALITIES:

A. ALTOONA

Mr. Jerry B. Watson, Executive Secretary of the Booker T. Washington Community Center of Altoona, has provided the Commission with two brief studies of the housing situation in Altoona. Of the 245 Negro families living in Altoona in 1940, forty families lived in dilapidated houses; and sixty-five families lived in dwellings which were in poor condition. Sanitation in Negro areas was very poor in 1941,^{when} Mr. Watson made a more thorough study of the physical condition of Negro-occupied dwellings. He states:

"There are very few houses regarded as standard and most of them are regarded as unfit for use."

He said that there was overcrowding and that the scarcity of houses was critical. Although Negro-occupied dwellings were regarded as dangerous to health and safety, the worst slum areas were being demolished. The recent increases in the Negro population, due to the war effort, have further complicated the Negro housing problem in Altoona.

B. ARDMORE

Under the joint direction of Dr. Thomas Decker Watson, Professor of Sociology at Haverford College, and the Executive Director; Mr. William S. Laughlin and Mr. T. M. Mills made a study of Negro housing in Ardmore during the college year 1941-42. The summary of the study is given below:

"Housing Shortage

"Evidence of a general shortage of houses in Ardmore, particularly in the low-income groups, was found in the practice of sub-letting, in the extent of overcrowding according to the Lower Merion Health Board standards and in the inability of realtors to find houses for their clients. While sub-letting may result from either excessive rents in proportion to incomes or the desire for less extensive quarters, it, in either case, indicates a shortage of low rent houses. The extent of sub-letting in Ardmore has been influenced by movements in adjacent areas. In nearby Bryn Mawr a Negro section or row was demolished and rebuilt by the owner; the rent was increased and White, instead of Negro tenants, were taken. Some few of the tenants found quarters in Bryn Mawr, some came to Ardmore, while others were forced to move into Philadelphia. Those who came to Ardmore found no available houses; they were absorbed into rooms already occupied by Negroes by the practice of sub-letting. Sufficient evidence was not found to conclude that there is more sub-letting among Negroes than among Whites. One realtor, however, stated that the practice was general among both groups and that it has been on the increase since the beginning of the emergency defense program.

"Overcrowding is another index of housing shortage. In a survey of the physical conditions of Negro houses in Ardmore, it was revealed that of the one hundred and ten houses covered, forty-four evidenced overcrowding according to the standards of the Health Board. The highest intensity of overcrowding was found in areas which experienced poorest drainage and the worst general structural conditions. No data were available for comparing the rates for Negro and Whites.

"Realtors, as a group, declared that they could find no openings for renters -- Negroes or Whites. It was apparent, moreover, that the problem, although present for a number of years, has become acute in the past year. It was reported by some that the shortage had existed for a generation; for example, one stated that, 'There always has been (a shortage) since I have been here and I came in 1919. There is not a single vacancy in Ardmore to my knowledge.' Others reported that the problem had been serious only in the last year; one stated: ' * * * there is a terrific shortage of houses in Ardmore; I haven't had a house for rent or for sale in the last eight months.'

"Two types of causes of shortage were found -- the long run and the short run causes. Of the first type, high land values and deed restrictions against builders who wish to sell to Negroes and mountable barriers to the extension of Negro dwellings to occupied or even to unoccupied areas. Ardmore, located on the Main Line, is characterized by high real estate values, a fact which forces owners to charge rents sufficient for an income from the property regardless of the facilities offered or the income of the occupants. Numerous interviewees reported that there had been attempts by owners to build or remodel houses to rent to low income groups, Negro and White; but that they had been thwarted, because, in the first place, they could find no seller who was willing to see the property developed into a Negro or low rent district, and in the second place, when such a seller was found, deed restrictions prohibited the sale of the property for use by anyone not Caucasian. Thus, it is practically impossible to increase the supply of low rent houses by purchase or building. There have been several attempts to remodel sections for renting to Negro tenants; the result has been an increase in rent with a subsequent exodus of tenants. The high land costs and the restrictions present handicaps in attaining adequate housing for Negroes which will be difficult to overcome in the near future.

"Another long run cause lies in the unique position of Ardmore as the only city in the area possessing an appreciable number of Negro dwellings and tenants. The demand for domestic laborers on large estates and middleclass homes in the area is relatively constant. These laborers must either live in Ardmore or commute from Negro districts in Philadelphia. The economic advantage of living in Ardmore creates within the commuters group a constant demand for houses in Ardmore -- a demand which can not be filled but which tends to absorb each vacancy as it occurs.

"The most important short-run cause of housing shortage in Ardmore has been the rapid industrial expansion of the Auto-car factory. Recently the company demolished a block of houses on Greenfield Avenue for the erection of a new plant structure. The home-seekers from this street filled every vacancy at rent levels they could afford; but for most of them no space was available -- they were forced to seek in surrounding areas and even in

Philadelphia for accommodations. Moreover, Auto-car has taken on a great number of emergency defense workers who have filled Ardmore and have overflowed into nearby cities.

"From the evidence available, it seems apparent that there is an acute shortage of houses, particularly for the lower income groups; that alleviation of the problem will be more difficult for Negroes due to racial discrimination and that alleviation in any case will take more than the normal flow of economic forces.

"Community Action

"From the interviews it is apparent that Ardmore, at no time, has made a concerted attempt to better the housing conditions. The failure to recognize the situation as a problem comes from the opinion that where no slums exist no pathological situation exists. In 1940 three studies related to housing were made by civic organizations. A brief survey of relief cases only, made by the Main Line Federation of Churches, was followed by a more comprehensive review of the physical conditions among Negro dwellings in Ardmore, Haverford, and Bryn Mawr by the Lower Merion Board of Health. The latter study, which concluded that while there were a few serious cases, no slum areas existed and the general conditions were good, did little to arouse public opinion on the matter. Later the same year, an extensive survey of the Negro homes in Ardmore was made by the Community Health and Civic Association; on the basis of their findings this association and the Board of Health took immediate action in the most serious cases.

"When asked why no Federal Housing Project had been brought to the city several interesting reasons were given. It was stated, first, that the areas inhabited by Negroes and by the poorer Whites are not concentrated sufficiently to make demolition of a single block or area for the project feasible. In the second place, high real estate values present a barrier to the purchase of a large tract of land which would accommodate low rent groups; in such instances the low rent paid would not cover the cost of the land. The method of alleviation that is most popular in Ardmore is the reliance upon private enterprise to purchase slum areas to remodel, and to open them to low rent groups with as little increase in rent as possible.

It is the opinion of many realtors that this method could be used to advantage but that a substantial increase in rent would invariably follow. The failure of Ardmore to ask for a government project is in part due to an emotional prejudice against the government agency itself along with a traditional belief in the supremacy of individual enterprise.

"Attitude of Realtors Toward Racial Groups

"As a group, the realtors of Ardmore observe the 'inviolability' of racial areas. Although no written agreement exists, a realtor will not sell or rent a home in a racially homogeneous area to a buyer of a different racial stock. There are some very interesting racial distinctions and reasons for this attitude. The realtors are very willing to find homes for clients of different racial stocks outside the restricted areas and usually they have no personal antipathy toward any racial group. They feel that it would be deleterious to their business to violate a restricted area even though such a transaction might pay well at the time.

"Of ten realtors questioned three did business with Jews, four with Italians, and six with Negroes. Six of the realtors catered to all racial groups while four restricted their clientele exclusively to Caucasians. Seven realtors recognized the existence of a general, unwritten agreement preventing the infiltration of different races into homogeneous areas of Caucasian occupancy.

"In some cases, principally since 1920, the homogeneity of a racial area is maintained by a clause in the deed restricting future sales to Caucasians. Many times the owner of a home simply asks the realtor not to offer his home to other than Caucasians. In cases where a different racial type has entered a restricted area the surrounding home owners have protested to the responsible realtor with the complaint that the value of their property was depreciated by the presence of the new racial type. One realtor expressed the belief that if he sold a home in a White district to a Negro, he would be boycotted.

"Negroes live only on the west side of Lancaster Pike in Ardmore. The realtors who deal with this area recognize the depreciation of property that results from Negro occupancy. They mention the noise, filth, and distasteful habits of the Negroes

as being definitely objectionable to White neighbors. From their own standpoint they show that the Negroes fail to care for their property making repairs necessary, repairs that are often too costly to be worthwhile in the lower rent homes. Aside from these very tangible objections there exists the purely emotional prejudice to Negroes. Once a Negro has inhabited a house no White person will occupy the same house even though it had been kept in good repair. Once an area has been occupied by Negroes, Whites will not move in until new buildings have been substituted for the old. The Italians and Jews are an exception. The Italians particularly are willing to live alongside of Negroes and they generally take excellent care of their property. They often own their own homes and are regarded as good risks. The value of some property has been increased because of improvements made by Italians.

"The problem of racial discrimination assumes an entirely different aspect on the east side of Lancaster Pike in Ardmore. The Homes in this area belong, for the most part, to owners in relatively high income brackets and whose business offices usually are located in Philadelphia. The principal racial problem of realtors dealing in this area is the exclusion of Jews. Although the Jews who make inquiries in this area are fully able to rent or buy the highest priced home and are of acceptable social standing the realtors, by common consent, will not do business with them. One realtor who dealt entirely in this area had not had over ten inquiries from Jews in twenty years and had sold only one home to a Jew in the same period, not realizing at the time that the client was a Jew. One year later the Jewish family asked that their home be offered for sale. Their reason was that they were not able to make friends with their neighbors, their children had no playmates and there were no country clubs or societies open to them. Few Negroes would be financially able to invade this part of Ardmore even if there were no objections to their presence. While some areas of Western Ardmore have passed from White to Negro, Italian, or Jewish ownership, no such changes have occurred in Eastern Ardmore nor have there been any indications that such a change will occur."

C. CARLISLE

Miss Mary E. Kelly, Executive Secretary of the Welfare Association of Carlisle, made a brief comprehensive study of Negroes. With reference to housing she states:

"Our housing conditions are very poor and, as the colored people are all in the low salary brackets, they are obliged to take what they can get. This has created a major problem on account of the tendency to overcrowd on their part. They are not segregated in any one particular district in Carlisle and are found in comparatively small or large groups in any part of the community."

From staff studies of 1940 and 1941, it was found that in addition to overcrowding, the physical condition of Negro-occupied dwellings was sub-standard in 65% of the houses visited. In numerous instances, the plumbing was in a poor state of repair. For Negroes, there is a scarcity of housing; any increase in the Negro population will render the Negro housing situation dangerous to the health of the community.

D. CHESTER

As is true in hundreds of communities throughout the nation, Negroes in Chester live in ecological areas rather than political areas; they are distributed largely with reference to the location of railroad tracks and the Delaware River. Moreover, as is true in all Negro communities of this type, Negroes in Chester live in "areas of transition". Depreciation has set in to such an extent that the area is not attractive either as a residential, a commercial, or an industrial area. In other words, the

majority of Negroes in Chester live in blighted, deteriorated and slum areas.

In 1934, the Delaware County Tuberculosis Association, in cooperation with the Health Department of the City of Chester, and the Tuberculosis Clinic, published "A Study of Some Social and Economic Conditions which May Affect the Health of Negroes in Chester, Pennsylvania". This study was directed by Cleo W. Blackburn. Mr. Robert W. Bernhardt, Executive Secretary of the Delaware County Tuberculosis and Health Association, has permitted the staff to summarize the study.

In review, 500 families were studied. 25% of the families either owned their homes or were buying them; 75% of them were tenants. Of the 500 homes, 353 were brick; 120 frame; and the others were cement and stucco. For the most part, these houses were old and cheaply built; they were poorly ventilated and lighted. There was both land and room overcrowding. Of the 500 houses, 471 or 94.5% of them "were seriously defective. Many of the structures needed several types of repairing; one hundred and fifty-three, or 32.6% leaked seriously; fifty-one needed plastering; thirty-seven had broken steps or porches; twenty-six needed re-flooring and seventy-seven had broken window panes and bad frames."⁽¹⁾

(1) Cf. P. 62

"The topography of the general area in which Negroes live is quite low because of the closeness of the river. As a result, many of the houses are quite damp, especially the basements. This situation is also due to poor drainage. Quite frequently there were houses where water had been in the basements for several weeks, which not only made the house damp but caused a foul odor." (1)

Of the 500 families, 442 had water closets, 200 of which were in the yard and 242 were in the house; 56 had privies; 4 had no toilets at all. The condition of the toilets was amazing. Many of the toilets were stopped, full, rusted, and otherwise out of use. Hence, many families suffered from conditions similar to those described below:

"Mr. _____ further stated that out of twenty houses on that street, only three had water. As a result, the water closet and drains had stopped to such an extent that an offensive odor permeates the entire neighborhood, making conditions unbearable." (2)

The above conditions obtained during the height of the depression. Thus, Negro-occupied dwellings whether owner occupied or tenant occupied were in a very bad state of repair. The majority of them were a serious menace to the health of the city. Negro housing in Chester today suffers very greatly from many defects which had their origin during the depression period.

- (1) Blackburn, Cleo W., "A Study of Some Social and Economic conditions which May Affect the Health of Negroes in Chester, Pa." P. 64
- (2) Op. cit. P. 70

The Commission's study of Chester was made by a group of students from Swarthmore College under the leadership of Miss Mead Smith. Materials were collected from the Chester Housing Authority and a house-to-house survey in representative all-Negro and in mixed neighborhoods. It was revealed that as of March, 1941, there were 5,490 homes owned in Chester. Negroes constituted 15.6% of the total population but owned only 7% of the total homes. Negroes occupied approximately 17% of the 14,324 residential structures but whereas the median age of white-occupied dwellings was twenty-five years, the median age of Negro-occupied dwellings was forty-five years. 245 or 72.48% of the 338 overcrowded dwellings were Negro-occupied. This fact of overcrowding and artificial scarcity of Negro housing is indicated by the fact that as of March, 1941, Negro vacancy was practically zero as compared with 2% vacancy for whites. Since June, 1942, the date of the Swarthmore study, there has been a tremendous increase in Negro employment, due to the employment by the Sun Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company. Although only a relatively small number of these persons can live in Chester, those who have come make Negro housing conditions very serious.

77.7% of the Negroes visited were certain that they paid higher rent than whites. 45% of the tenants reported that rent had been raised from one to four times during their occupancy. Most Negro tenants felt that they had to accept the increases or move and there are practically

no dwellings available for Negroes in Chester. In most instances, the plumbing is defective; many toilets are located in back yards and are often used by several families. Provisions for heating, lighting, and ventilating are generally below standard. The Swarthmore report states:

"The supply of housing facilities is restricted because it is very difficult for Negroes to move into a white area and, as the high percentage of overcrowded conditions shows, effective demand exceeds effective supply very considerably. The colored tenant is therefore absolutely helpless against the landlords, which, of course, the latter realize and therefore try to squeeze out as much rent as possible for houses, a large percentage of which should be condemned."

The Chester Fair Rent Committee, despite constant opposition, has helped to keep rent from increasing.

With reference to mixed neighborhoods, the Swarthmore study reports:

"Whites live on one side of the street and Negroes on the other side. Most of these sections have been mixed for a great number of years, so that people generally do not know what the effect of colored people moving into the neighborhood was. Those who do know, though, generally agree that the property value, for one thing, decreased. Once Negroes have moved in, houses are harder to sell and rent, largely because of the 'reputation' one would get by living on the same street with Negroes, and largely because of the carelessness of the real estate agents who, once a section is a mixed section, give up all considerations as to whom they take, which lowers the standard of the whole section almost immediately. In spite of this prejudice against Negroes as such, whites would comment that the Negroes on their street are nice respectable, clean people, but it is 'embarrassing to live with them'. Usually they keep to themselves though, except for the children who probably, when playing with each other do not even know

they are different. Some complained that the Negroes were noisy and dangerous and they always had to keep their door locked at night, but as a whole we had the impression that the population in the mixed neighborhoods got along quite well and that their standards of living were on about the same level."

On the whole, the streets of Chester are in a poor state of repair and are not kept clean. Conditions are somewhat worse in the all-Negro sections. Many additional traffic lights are needed in all sections of the city; Negro sections are in greater need than are other sections. Street lights in many areas are inadequate.

The Chester Housing Authority erected Lamokin Village which provides 350 accommodations for Negro families. In addition to low income, applicants must qualify as to a major housing need, good citizenship, acceptable moral standards, and length of residence in Delaware County. Each occupant in Lamokin Village seemed happy to be there. On the whole, they take good care of the property and are desirable tenants. However, housing conditions for Chester Negroes are so poor that the Lamokin Village needs to be multiplied by many times in order to reduce appreciably the major problems of Negro housing. It is hoped, that because of the present status of Negro housing and also because of the large number of Negroes employed by the Sun Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, that Negroes will be allotted a large share of the defense houses which are being built with federal funds. Moreover, now that Negroes are able to pay fair rental prices and can pay their rent promptly, decent

health standards ought to be enforced by the city and state authorities. Even at this date, December, 1942, sanitation in all-Negro neighborhoods is unhealthful in hundreds of instances.

E. ERIE

In Erie, Negroes occupy 1.17% of all family units but occupy 7.7% of all sub-standard units. Whereas, only 6.24% of all white-occupied units are sub-standard, 44.19% of all Negro-occupied units are sub-standard. Sanitation in Negro-occupied houses is poor. There is also a greater scarcity of Negro housing than white. Despite the fact that Negro housing vacancies are almost nil due to the war effort, Erie is experiencing an increase in its Negro population.

In September, 1942, Mrs. Emily J. Wharton, Executive Secretary of the Booker T. Washington Community Center of Erie, sent the following statement to the Executive Director:

"The housing situation is another acute problem. There is a scarcity of houses which makes it doubly hard for the Negro due to the fact that only certain properties are available to him. These for the most part, have been rented to colored families only for a number of years. Needless to say they are in poor condition. It is also difficult to purchase property where one desires. For value received Negroes pay twice as much as whites. There is no Negro section, but there are a few areas where there is a concentration. Generally speaking the colored population is scattered. A Federal Housing Project is approved for Erie but is for white families only. Representatives from the Interracial Committee met with the chairman of the local Authority in interest of getting houses for colored families. The results of this visit was an assurance of 50 units in a second project which has been promised."

F. HARRISBURG

Real Property Inventory of Harrisburg shows that Negroes occupy 7.5% of the total family accommodations but occupy 13.6% of all sub-standard accommodations in the city. Whereas only 14% of the white-occupied units are sub-standard, 72% of the Negro-occupied units are sub-standard. The Commission is indebted to Miss Mary S. Frecon, Secretary of the Housing Association of Harrisburg, for preparing a documentary exhibit on Negro housing conditions of Harrisburg. The exhibit was completed as of June 10, 1942. This exhibit shows that social workers, civic organizations, and newspaper publishers are aware of the serious plight of Negro housing in Harrisburg and desire to help improve the situation. The following statement is taken from the front page of the Harrisburg Telegraph, Monday, April 10, 1939:

"Slum conditions in Harrisburg as revolting as any to be found in the great metropolitan centers of the east were disclosed today in a summation of surveys by social and relief agencies.

"Breeding places of disease and suffering, hotbeds of crime and juvenile delinquency, they flourish odiously in the very shadow of the capitol - a ghastly contrast to the grandeur of the \$40,000,000 group of State buildings.

"The district in which the situation is most acute, the surveys agree, is an area of roughly one-half square mile in the Seventh ward, extending north from Forster Street between Sixth and Seventh.

"Here scores of families live in absolute squalor in dilapidated dwellings which are mere shells of houses - unbelievably insanitary and unsafe. Here are 'homes' without running water. Patched-up, ill-ventilated houses

permeated with dampness from perpetually flooded cellars.

"Here undernourished, poorly-clad children travel weakened, pitch-dark stairways; play in yards littered with garbage and debris. Here whole families huddle together in one or two rooms, unable to keep warm in winter; unable to escape the stifling heat in summer."

The area described is chiefly inhabited by Negroes. From time to time, several other articles have appeared in the Harrisburg Telegraph on the necessity for slum clearance. Other Harrisburg papers have also been interested in the program and have made mention of the fact that on August 16, 1938, the City of Harrisburg and the Harrisburg Housing Authority signed an agreement to "eliminate unsafe or insanitary dwellings situated within the territorial limits of the city substantially equal in number to the number of newly constructed dwellings to be provided by the Project." Political and other special interest groups prevented the Housing Authority from accomplishing its aim as fully as was possible. However, the Authority has housed many Negroes in its project. For the present, only defense houses can be constructed; the number of such dwellings is too small to help the present situation appreciably.

The following statements are taken from the Exhibit prepared for the Commission by Miss Frecon:

"No demolition of slum houses has been carried on here according to the terms of the United States Housing Act; on the contrary it has been prevented by the circumlocution of the local Housing Authority and pushed into what is termed 'the long range program.' The

only buildings which have been torn down are those which would have come down in the natural course of events to provide space for filling stations, parking lots and the like. The few Negroes who were forced to move from such dwellings, moved into decrepit buildings, garages, store-rooms, or the homes of relatives.

"There can be no violation of laws which do not exist on our statute books. Laws of the Building Inspection Division seem to apply to houses of new construction or to those about to be altered, and do not affect old law houses. Violations of Building Inspection and Plumbing laws are never committed by Negro tenants but by white landlords, some of whom only recently became American citizens.

"A recent Press Release from the Federal Public Housing Agency (No. 671) removes any hope for the immediate rehabilitation of substandard dwellings either through U. S. Housing Projects or slum clearance. 'Further building of slum-clearance projects,' said the Commissioner, 'is necessarily deferred until Victory has been won. There are no building materials for homes outside of defense areas.' Another Press Release, No. 669, indicates that Harrisburg is on the list of cities to which War Housing projects have been assigned since April 11th. If sufficient pressure could be brought to bear, on the grounds that Negro workers on construction jobs in Defense areas should receive the same consideration that workers in defense plants receive in the matter of housing such workers, it is possible that Negroes who are now living in houses unfit for human beings in this city would receive a share of the proposed Defense Housing - 75 permanent houses - No. PA-36085.

"Substandard housing could be improved by the enforcement of existing laws on Health and Sanitation, as well as more rigid and more frequent inspection of buildings converted into apartments-boilers, fire escapes, chimneys, dark hallways, unsafe stairways.

"In June, 1940, the Housing Association presented a Housing Code to City Council with a re-occupancy clause for the protection of the tenant, but it has not been heard of since. A Committee appointed to safeguard the lives and health of working people, might be the means of improving substandard houses.

"Any form of education requires materials, and poor Negro tenants cannot be educated while living in filth and squalor. Children cannot be taught to keep clean when their only means of bathing is an outside spigot or at best a kitchen sink; mothers cannot be taught to improve a house where the woodwork is rotten, the wallpaper falling, the roof leaking, the cellar wet with stagnant water. Fathers return home from a construction job, their socks and overalls stiff with mud and cement - and no place to wash. What is the good of Health education in Health centers and clinics when the babe must be returned to a germ ridden room; when the syphilitic or tuberculous member of a family returns to the crowded slum house?

"Landlords of substandard dwellings take no risks. They buy up old law houses for a song, divide them into so called 'apartments' and rent them to poor people at prices far out of proportion to the investment.

"Respectable colored families who desire a decent environment and can afford to pay for it, are compelled to live in slum districts because of certain restrictions in decent neighborhoods. Sometimes they are permitted to move into unrestricted areas but are charged exorbitant rentals for the old law houses which have been vacated by white families.

"Landlords take no risk in the collection of rents. They hire a constable to act as an agent - he shows his badge, waves a paper which the frightened tenant does not know is illegal, and frightens the family into panic. After one such visit, a poor old woman sat in the house with the curtains drawn and the door locked for several days. If the constable cannot get quick enough results in this manner, other illegal methods are tried. On one occasion a young colored woman who protested against the actions of a constable who walked into her kitchen and began to remove her furniture, was arrested and taken to the County jail, and her household effects removed in a van to storage. The Housing Association defended this case and the woman was released. In cases where household goods are removed to storage (our form of eviction) local welfare and charitable organizations are obliged to pay the storage bill before the family can be reestablished in another house. Much money spent by relief agencies finds its way

into the pockets of greedy landlords, leaving the supposed beneficiaries of State and Government aid hungry and impoverished.

"As a result of all this injustice there is much unrest, and this is being capitalized by persons more interested in subversive activities than in Negro well being."

There is much documentary evidence to support most of the statements made by Miss Frecon. In addition thereto, professional persons: teachers, ministers, physicians, dentists, and social workers who were interviewed by the Executive Director confirm nearly all the statements herein mentioned. Despite the very serious condition of Negro housing in Harrisburg, in comparison to its size, no city in the State has as many different organizations, agencies, and influential persons interested in slum clearance as Harrisburg. On housing as it relates to Negro areas, the city has a sensitive conscience. Herein lies the opportunity for improvement, both now and after the war. Up to the present time, all repairs necessary for health and safety can be made. Social agencies and individuals interested in housing should take advantage of this fact to see that the city enforces its housing code.

G. JOHNSTOWN

The Johnstown Interracial Commission, organized by Mrs. Maude B. Coleman, Interracial Consultant of the State Department of Welfare, published in 1941 its "Survey of the Negro Population of Metropolitan Johnstown, Pennsylvania", by Florence M. Hornback. The study is the result of efficient

community cooperation. It describes the Negro housing conditions of Johnstown as follows:

"As the city grew, those who could afford it moved farther out to less congested areas, leaving behind them old-fashioned dwellings which were allowed to deteriorated along with the unsubstantial buildings around them.

"During the pre-depression area, stock speculation was the popular method for investment of money and rental real estate was at a standstill - with the result that those people who could not build their own homes had to pay the rent asked of them and make the best of the houses which were available. Landlords could choose tenants and they gave first preference to the better buildings to native whites. The houses were not kept in repair nor improved with modern conveniences.

"When the white people became dissatisfied with the houses, they were replaced by foreigners of the laboring classes who had not been in this country very long. When these people were financially able to rent better houses or buy property of their own, they too moved and the houses, in their worst stage of disrepair became available to Negroes. Because the need of homes for colored people far exceeds the houses which they can rent, the landlords are able to increase the amount of rent over that which they asked of white tenants and decrease the amount of upkeep for repairs and improvements.

"Because of clauses in deeds or agreements between landlords, certain sections of the city are closed to Negroes who wish to buy or rent real estate. Until the flood of 1936 only eleven Negro families owned their homes, although some of them had lived in the area since 1886 and were financially able to do so. Many of the homes of colored people were in the flood area and although some houses were destroyed or rendered unsafe for occupancy, no new areas were open to them. After the flood a number of white families moved out of the flood zone and with the shifting of population, some colored people were able to buy homes. Today sixty houses are owned outright or being purchased by Negroes. Fifty families report living in homes which they own and

fifteen report that they rent a house or a portion of their house to other tenants. The families owning their homes are able to live in a neighborhood, better than those who rent. Their yards and gardens and the upkeep of the premises compare favorably with that of the neighborhood as a whole.

"Of 461 families represented on the schedules, 221 have no sidewalks, ten have cinder paths along the side of the street, thirty-three have dirt walks. One hundred and ninety-seven have sidewalks, 180 of which are of cement, one is of board, twenty are brick and six are so badly broken that they are unsafe.

"One hundred and thirty-four families live on paved streets, 125 on mud roads, 35 on cobblestone streets, 13 brick, 4 are cinder and three are slag. Some of the alleys are still not much more than the footpaths of 1900. Forty-six are paved, 94 are mud, four are cinder and three are gravel.

"Many of the streets and alleys are unlighted at night, or inadequately so. Some of the streets are bounded by a steep hill on one side and a precipice on the other, as they wind their path along the curves of the hillsides. They are used not only for traffic, but are the usual play space for the children of 118 households.

"Three hundred and seven, or 66 percent of the families live in residential districts. Twenty-five, or 5.4 per cent live in business neighborhoods, 24 or 5.4 per cent live in factory areas. Forty-seven, or 10.2 per cent lived in mixed business and residence neighborhoods and 58 or 12.5 per cent live in mixed factory and residence neighborhoods. The 17.9 per cent who live in factory and factory residence districts, also live near the railroad tracks.

"309 families live in a section of the area where garbage is removed by the city. One hundred and thirty-seven must make some kind of disposal of garbage of their own initiative and 15 have garbage removal only in summer.

"159 families have city ash removal; 293 must dispose of ashes any way they can as there is no city removal and 19 report that ashes are removed only occasionally.

"Twenty of the buildings are of brick, 433 of frame and five of some other composition and one is a tar paper shack. One hundred and four of the buildings are well kept, 357 are in need of major repairs or condemnation.

"One hundred and fifty-two household units live in single houses with an average of 8.6 rooms, half with less than 8.29 or 4.5 rooms per unit. One hundred and thirty-seven families live in tenements or row of houses which contain from six to thirty-two rooms - an average of 18 rooms per tenement.

"One hundred and seventy-seven families have no yard. Two hundred and eighty four have yards of some kind: of which 88 are planted with flowers, 92 with vegetable gardens and 15 are lawns, or a combination of the three. One hundred and fifty-three yards show an effort to keep them in a presentable condition as circumstances permit. One hundred and thirty-one yards are muddy and in very poor condition, some being used for ash dumps, rubbish and debris and nineteen with outdoor toilets, in bad condition. Forty-four units have no sewerage.

"Ninety-one units have no cellar. In three units the cellar consists of dugouts above street level, made out of the hillside against which the house leans. Seventy two units report that the cellars are always damp and twenty-three report that water which seeps through the foundation stagnates and remains there at all times. Six have toilets in the cellar, two have bath tubs there with no facilities for heating water or warming the place in winter. Seven basements emanate foul odors due to faulty plumbing. Eleven units live in cellar rooms and two families are obliged to use one of their living rooms for cellar purposes and coal storage.

"144 or 31.2 per cent of the 461 family units have gas and 405 or 88 per cent have electricity. Forty-nine or 10.6 per cent use oil lamps and 64 or 14 per cent use oil stoves. Fifty-one or 11 per cent have furnaces. 359 or 78 per cent heat with coal stoves.

"One hundred and ten or 24 per cent have mechanical refrigeration, 273 or 59 per cent have ice boxes and 78 or 17 per cent have no means of refrigeration whatever.

"Ninety-seven families have a private bath. Seventy-three share a bathroom with from one to five families. Two hundred and ninety-one have no bath.

"Seven families have no toilet facilities on the premises. Three hundred and two families have private toilets, 152 share the toilet with from one to seven families. Forty-four without sewerage have outdoor toilets.

"Ninety-eight units have hot and cold running water. Seven have no water on the premises and have to carry it from neighboring houses. One hundred and forty-four share the cold water hydrant with from one to five families. In a number of houses, the bill for water must be paid by the tenant.

"For these accommodations, the average cost of rent is \$22.24 for 4.17 rooms, half paying more or less than \$15.95 for 4.13 rooms, in houses of which 357 or 77 per cent are in need of repair or condemnation.

"Of the 485 family units in the survey area, 241 or less than 50 per cent have their household unit exclusively for their own family. The great majority of the families living together would like to enjoy this privilege and many would do so if they could find rooms in which to move. The average householder has lived in his present quarters since 1933, with half having lived at his present address since 1936. A number of families commented about the long time they have been looking for rooms. One minister reports that he has a register of approximately thirty families who are trying to find a place in which to live.

"With only 161 dwelling units available for the whole city, it can be understood that a minority group of 1,444 colored persons, restricted by public opinion to certain areas and not financially able to buy a home, are obliged to live in over-crowded homes."

H. LEWISTOWN

Mr. J. N. Lewis, Executive Secretary of the Mifflin County Community Fund, on December 9, 1940 sent the following statement to the Commission:

"Housing facilities would be practically the same as in other communities in colored districts, as they are mostly confined in colored districts of their own."

A rather brief observation of two areas in which most Negroes live showed that most of the Negro dwellings were sub-standard with reference to physical condition. Approximately one-fourth of them were unfit for human habitation.

I. MILTON

The following quotation is taken from "Negro Youth in Milton, Pennsylvania," by Ira D. Walker and Vincent J. Davis whose chapter is contained in an American Youth Commission study: THUS BE THEIR DESTINY.

"Because poverty is the rule among the Negroes, family life is considerably disorganized. Many once satisfactory houses which Negroes hopefully put up during the boom years are now, for want of upkeep, little better than dilapidated shacks. What is more, interest charges have become in many cases an almost intolerable burden. * * * Better houses with furnaces and tubs are either beyond their means to rent or not available to Negro tenants."

J. PHILADELPHIA

For more than a century, on the whole, Negro housing has been rather unsatisfactory. The riots which occurred between 1829 and 1842, resulted in the concentration of Negroes in certain sections of what is now known as South Philadelphia. The worst slum section was between South

and Fitzwater Streets and Fifth and Eight Streets. Many of these occupants were rag-pickers whose dwellings were symbolic of their trade. In many instances, one or more families inhabited dark, damp, and dirty cellars during winter months. Although efforts were made to keep Negroes within the South Philadelphia area, they began to move into other parts of the city. By 1840, some Negroes had moved to West Philadelphia; others continued to move westward on Lombard Street, and got as far as Seventeenth Street by 1876. However, many remained near the central part of the city; some to be near their work, some to be near their churches or social centers, and other because of restrictive measures.

Many real estate agents and landlords took advantage of the artificial shortage of Negro dwellings and charged exorbitant rents. To produce further financial gain, many landlords utilized the yard space in back of houses and erected poorly lighted and inadequately ventilated small houses in blind alleys called "courts". Both landlords and tenants acquired the habit of lodging and sub-renting, which practice, in turn, increased sub-standard dwellings and immorality. The early twentieth century found many of these conditions still unchanged in the central city area. The Octavia Hill Association conducted a survey in 1904. A Negro section between the south side of Lombard Street and the north side of Rodman and Sixteenth and Eighteenth Streets was included. While some of the houses inspected showed improvement, there was room overcrowding and land congestion;

other houses had rooms without direct light, and many outdoor toilets were still in evidence. In 1915, the Whittier Center made a housing survey. It showed that Negroes without reliable income, Jews, and Italians, were the victims of greedy landlords and were compelled to occupy insanitary dwellings. However, a report made by the Philadelphia Housing Association in 1921 revealed that whites, with low incomes, were able to secure better equipped houses than Negroes of a similar classification. Only 10.5% of the colored houses were properly equipped for sanitation, convenience, and comfort, as against 23.6% for whites.

The World War brought an immense increase in the Negro population of the city, which further augmented the housing problem. Overcrowding in homes flourished anew; the most flagrant cases occurred in the south-central part of the city. In order to provide quick shelter for many of the migrants, long-abandoned houses, stables, shacks, and even churches were pressed into service. The majority of these migrants settled between Girard and Washington Avenues and the two rivers; some settled in West Philadelphia, Germantown, and below Federal Street in South Philadelphia. Many of them were victimized by landlords some of whom were Negroes. Homes that were originally built for occupancy by one family were converted into use for several families without the accompanying multiple equipment. Some landlords received as much as \$100 per week for sub-standard dwellings in which separate families occupied each room. Between 1923

and 1926, rents rose rapidly; the increase for Negroes was much greater than that for whites. Besides the increase in the Negro population, the building of but a few houses for them over a period of thirty years had helped create this housing shortage. The rate of rental increase for whites was 61.5%, for Negroes 71.86%. Negroes living south of Market Street and between the two rivers were affected most.

In 1927, T. J. Woofter, Jr., and Madge Headley Priest, published: "Negro Housing in Philadelphia". A part of the summary of this study is presented below:(1)

"1. The rapid increase in Negro population has taxed the low-rent housing facilities of the city to the limit, filling up old areas of Negro residence and causing the spread to new areas.

"2. The shortage of houses for Negroes and the increased population have created serious problems of density in the older Negro areas, which density aggravates the problems of health and morals.

"3. There is, however, an encouraging movement of the Negro population from the poorer to the better sections.

"4. The equipment and repair of many of the low-grade tenements are far below standard. A large number have public toilets, privies, poor ventilation, or oil lamps.

"5. Negro rentals are high in Philadelphia in comparison with other Northern cities. This is largely a result of the sharp increase in demand for houses. They are especially high in the low-grade tenements when considered from the point of the rapidity of recent increase, white rents for similar houses, and equipment furnished.

"6. The most hopeful feature of improvement comes through the constant purchase of homes by ambitious families. Not only are these families bettered by the move, but the houses thus vacated afford relief to other families of lower economic status."

In 1934, Negroes were 11.3% of the total population of Philadelphia and owned approximately 3.6% of the total owner occupied structures. Negroes owned 12.5% of the structures in which they lived. In 1934, where 74.4% of the Negro owner occupied dwellings were mortgaged only 25.3% of the white owner occupied dwellings were mortgaged. In 1939, Philadelphia Negroes owned approximately 3.14% of the total number of owner occupied structures; they owned only 10.8% of the structures in which they lived. This decrease of 1.7%, while very significant, is somewhat in proportion to the general decline of home ownership for all citizens of the city. In 1934, 61% of the Negro and 82% of the white owner occupied structures were in good condition. 33% of the Negro and only 9% of the white owner occupied structures were in need of minor repairs. 3% of the Negro and 7% of the white owner occupied structures were in need of structural repairs, 3% of the Negro and 1.6% of the white owner occupied structures were unfit for use.

Since Philadelphia Negroes rent between 87.5% and 89.2% of the dwellings which they occupy let us review, comparatively, the state of repair of these units in 1934. 31.27% of the Negro and 86.64% of the white rented structures were in good condition. 47.80% of the Negro and 26.99% of

the white rented structures needed minor repairs. 13.06% of the Negro and 3.75% of the white rented structures were in need of structural repairs. 7.84% of the Negro and 2.6% of the white rented structures were unfit for use. Thus, when we combine those structures needing minor repairs, structural repairs, and those which were unfit for use, it is evident that 68.70% of all Negro rented structures were not in a good state of repair; on the other hand, only 33.34% of the white rented structures were so classified. Stating it positively, whereas only 31.30% of the Negro rented structures were in good condition, 66.66% of the white rented structures were in good condition. Hence, in proportion to their respective numbers, white-occupied rented structures were twice as good as Negro-occupied rented structures. The study showed that Negro housing was correspondingly as unfavorable when toilet facilities, sanitation in general, yard space for play, modern conveniences and appliances were compared. Although the street cleaning and garbage removal system of the entire city needed, then as now, to be very greatly improved, matters were worse in all-Negro neighborhoods. However, the city is not altogether responsible for the situation; residents are partly responsible.

The 1939 picture of the state of repair of Negro-occupied units is hardly any better than that of 1934. In 1939, 64.9% of all Negro structures were either "bad" or in need of repairs. As was stated by authorities, a more extensive examination of Negro-occupied structures would

probably reveal that the number of structures so classified would be increased. Such a study would show that due to overcrowding and the state of repair of Negro-occupied dwellings, fully three-fourths of them were sub-standard. That Negro-occupied structures were not any worse was not due to improvements through repairs, new constructions, moving into a larger number of decent dwellings, or moving into better neighborhoods. Although such factors have made some contributions, they have been far outweighed by such rather complex contributory factors as demolitions, relative decrease in rental arrearage, various type of rehabilitation plans largely "apartments", that is, converting old houses into numerous dwelling units, and a higher rate of occupancy for Negro dwellings.

Given the extremely low income of the Negro population, residential segregation, and a shortage of decent housing for all citizens of Philadelphia, the "bad" condition of Negro housing can be understood more clearly when it is pointed out that Negroes are considerably concentrated in the oldest part of the city and in the oldest dwellings of whatever districts in which they live. In 1934, only 18.26% of the Negro-occupied structures were under 35 years of age whereas 54.47% of the white-occupied structures were under 35 years old. On the contrary, 65.06% of the Negro-occupied structures were 35 to over 100 years old; but only 34.29% of the white-occupied structures were so classified. In other words, Negroes were forced to occupy the older and more undesirable areas of the city.

In this regard, Philadelphia, like Chester, Harrisburg, Pittsburgh, and other municipalities of the State follow the historic pattern of the growth of cities in their relation to the manner in which the older areas are occupied by successively lower income groups until eventually Negroes predominate. Needless to say, these old houses cost more to heat and ventilate properly; are greater fire, accident, and health risks; keeping them in good physical condition becomes increasingly expensive as they increase in years. Their rapid deterioration and depreciation soon reach a point where it becomes unprofitable and also impossible for them to become other than sub-standard. Their demolition would be best but this is greatly delayed through (1) a complex of high pressure politics on the part of some landlords and agents, (2) ignorance, and indifference on the part of some tenants, and (3) a general shortage of decent housing, especially for persons of the lower income groups. For the duration, necessary repairs are only possible. At this point, it seems safe to say that overcrowding due to war industries will render more Negro-occupied dwellings sub-standard than repairs will render them in good physical condition.

Table I below is indicative of the correlation between the age of structures and their state of repair. Even though the relationship is rather empirical, its significance is none the less important.

TABLE I
STRUCTURAL CONDITION, AGE, RENTALS AND OCCUPANCY⁽¹⁾

Condition	Median Age of Struc- tures	Median Duration of Occupancy	Median Rental Occupied Units	Duration of Vacancy	Median Rental Vacant Units
Good	37 yrs.	7 yrs.6 mos.	\$32.32	4 mos.	\$34.56
Minor repairs	48 yrs.	4 yrs.7 mos.	25.46	6 mos.	29.41
Major repairs	55 yrs.	4 yrs.1 mos.	20.37	1 yrs.10 mos.	24.69
Unfit for use	65 yrs.	3 yrs.2 mos.	14.49	3 yrs.& over	19.36
	40 yrs.	6 yrs.3 mos.	\$29.75	7 mos.	\$30.05

In the absence of a list of condemned houses by race, we may use such a list by wards. Our estimates show that proportionately, the number of condemned structures tends to be larger in predominantly Negro wards than in mixed wards; likewise, it tends to be larger in mixed wards than in all white wards. This trend is significantly substantiated when it is pointed out that, whereas Negroes constituted approximately 11.3% of the total population in Philadelphia, 6,079 or 55% of the 11,103 demolished family accommodations from 1935 to 1939 inclusive were Negro-occupied. Thus, Negro-occupied family accommodations were demolished at a rate of nearly five times their proportion in the total population. It has been reliably estimated that more than 95% of the structures involved were unfit for use.

(1) REAL PROPERTY SURVEY AND LOW INCOME HOUSING SURVEY, Philadelphia, 1939, P. 17.

However, there were more demolitions in 1939 than in any previous year during the decade. In order to get a more recent picture, the following statement of the Philadelphia Housing Association for the years 1939 and 1940 speaks for itself:

"While the number of demolitions has been abnormally small in relation to the city as a whole, it has had an adverse effect on those groups of the population hardest hit by poor housing conditions. Of the 3,319 families displaced, 2,026, or 61% were Negroes. 94% of all the demolished dwellings had been renting for less than \$30, and 66% for less than \$20. Practically all were rented dwellings." (1)

What happened to those Negroes whose housing accommodations were torn down? Did they leave the city? Did they move into dwellings formerly occupied by whites? Did they consume the total Negro vacant family accommodations? Were new family accommodations constructed? No doubt many other questions could be listed. On the whole, rooming, overcrowding, the occupancy of largely sub-standard vacant Negro structures, and the occupancy of a relatively small number of sub-standard structures formerly occupied by whites, seemed to account for the majority of such families. Similar conditions with reference to demolitions obtain in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh. Our field studies have shown this to be typical of the State as a whole.

(1) HOUSING IN PHILADELPHIA, 1939-1940, P. 22.

The overcrowding of the Negro population may be somewhat indicated by the following release of August 28, 1936, by the Philadelphia Real Property Survey:

"The table on occupancy by race shows colored occupants in 22.9% of one-room accommodations, 21.8% of the two-room type, 18.6% of the three-room type, 16.8% of the four-room type, 7.5% of the six-room type, and 4.3% of those having more than ten rooms. In other words, as the size of the dwelling unit goes up, the percentage of colored occupancy goes down."

The Richard Allen and the James Weldon Johnson Homes of the Philadelphia Housing Authority are rendering a great service to Negroes and white citizens. They show how easily underprivileged people, given the proper guidance, can learn to appreciate and use properly decent housing. However, in Philadelphia as elsewhere in the State and nation, as compared to urgent need, these homes are merely "token" improvements. Thus far, none of the 2,400 defense homes have Negro occupants. On the whole, defense housing in the Philadelphia area is most inadequate for all of the citizens. For Negroes, it is practically non-existent. For the duration, it is important that all necessary repairs be made and that overcrowding be kept at a minimum. It is incumbent upon the city to enforce its housing codes lest the health and safety of the city be greatly endangered.

K. PITTSBURGH

The modern problem of housing among Negroes in Pittsburgh had its beginning in the years during and after the World War

when thousands of Negroes migrated from the South and seriously overcrowded certain sections of the city. These migrants fell heir to the already sub-standard housing environment abandoned by other groups; they remained therein and became a permanent part of the population. As a consequence of social and racial barriers which have prevented Negroes from moving out of such segregated areas, there has been an almost constant shortage of houses for them. Unable to take advantage of the general improvements of modern housing, moving to the Negro has become little more than the exchange of one sub-standard structure for another.

In 1934, according to the Real Property Inventory, approximately 40% of the city's families lived in sub-standard houses. In January of 1939, a sample survey, made by the Pittsburgh Housing Association, disclosed that a very small percentage of those same sub-standard homes had received any appreciable improvement, while 15% of the dwellings that were "satisfactory" in 1934 had deteriorated to the sub-standard level. In view of these observations, it is safe to say that the efforts of the Housing Association, its predecessors, and even the slum clearance program of the Pittsburgh Housing Authority, have succeeded in making only a beginning toward the solution of Pittsburgh's housing problem.

The city's Negro population is concentrated in such well defined areas as the Hill District, which accounts for about 45% of the total Negro population, and other sections in the

North Side, the South Side, the Strip, and Lawrenceville. All of these sections, in greater or less degree, contain a large proportion of houses that are old and dilapidated. The situation in the Hill District is worst. Moreover, according to the Pittsburgh Housing Association, 95% of the dwellings it classed as the "worst houses in the Hill" were occupied by Negroes. A further analysis by the Association follows:

"In the congested Lower Hill, Third Ward, the proportion of Negro to white population is less than in the upper section. The larger, more stable families tend to migrate to the Fifth Ward where they are forced by their limited incomes, to live in inadequately sized houses; 21 percent of the dwellings in this ward are acutely overcrowded. Single persons and small families usually remain in the Third Ward. Here dwelling size is somewhat smaller and housing is the worst in the City, but problems of condition are not frequently complicated by overcrowding."

Before continuing a discussion of sub-standard housing it should be specifically stated that homes of Negroes in certain sections of the city (such as the Schenley Heights district of the Fifth Ward, and certain areas of East Liberty, Homewood, and Brushton) meet the requirements of standard housing. These homes are surrounded by lawns and trees, have all the usual facilities and services, are comfortable, and in many instances, are owner-occupied. It is to be expected that some Negroes would be in such fortunate circumstances, but this brief account of the bright side of the housing picture fails to cloud the main issue, namely,

that housing for the vast majority of the Negro population is a problem of constant struggle against discomfort, disease, and sub-standard living. Statistical studies, particularly by the Pittsburgh Housing Association, are continually exposing the problem. A health survey of the Negro in 1934 in which 4,245 Negro families were studied, revealed certain housing conditions as follows:(1)

"The usual home, regardless of the size of the family, consisted of three or four rooms. * * * Lodgers complicated the situation in one-third of the homes. * * * Frequently six or more persons shared a bedroom; occasionally they shared the same bed. In fact, almost one-half of all persons seen shared their room with two or more people.

"Two or three families sharing water or toilet facilities was the rule, but instances are known where nine families used the same toilet, and where fourteen families secured their water from a single tap in the back yard."

The following deficiencies were noted:

	<u>Percent</u>
Families sharing water supply	54.9
Families without bath	40.3
Families with outdoor water supply	1.7
Families sharing toilet	64.7
Families with outdoor toilet	14.5

(1) Witcher, Elsie, "Tuberculosis and the Negro" PP. 65-66, 69.

Since the majority of the Negro population of the City is concentrated in certain well defined areas, we may use Table II to describe the conditions of dwelling units in these areas as compared to an area which is representative of the city. It must be borne in mind, however, that these areas are not strictly "Negro districts", but do include approximately 70% of the Negro population. It is to be observed that conditions in the Hill District, which are most representative of housing among Negroes, are far out of line with assumed standard conditions in Mt. Washington, particularly in the percentage of houses which are unfit for occupancy. The Real Property Inventory further revealed that of the total number of dwellings in the Hill District, 32.7% were without hot water; 12.7% had no gas or electricity for light; 82.6% had no furnace type heating; and 2.2% did not have running water.

TABLE II

CONDITION OF DWELLING UNITS IN FIVE SELECTED AREAS OF PITTSBURGH

Place	Total Units	Percent of Units in Each Area Which Were:				Condition not reported
		In good condition	In need of minor repairs	In need of Major repairs	Unfit	
Mt. Washington	6,145	38.5	46.3	12.7	2.4	0.1
The Strip	2,402	7.4	35.5	33.1	23.6	0.2
Hill District	13,942	23.3	42.9	24.7	9.0	- -
East Liberty	8,169	35.4	49.3	13.5	1.8	- -
Homewood	9,783	50.4	41.6	7.2	0.8	- -

The low economic status of the City's Negro population can receive little more graphic illustration than the great dis-proportion in the number of owned homes between Negroes and whites as revealed in Table III.

In the summer of 1941, the Pittsburgh Housing Association made two sample studies which included Negro housing. The results of the East Liberty study are as follows:

TABLE III

"CONDITION OF UNITS INSPECTED"

	Total units inspected	Fit	Needing Minor Repair	Needing Major Repair	Unfit for Use	Percentage of Sub-standard* Units
Negro	415	1	236	159	19	42.9
White	180	4	147	29	0	16.1
Vacant	20	0	6	11	3	70.0
Total	615	5	389	199	22	35.9

* 'Substandard' refers to units needing major repair and those unfit for use." (1)

The results of the second sample, the Lawrenceville study are presented below in Table IV:

(1) Borland, Wilson S., "Housing in Wartime Pittsburgh, 1941-1942" P. 25.

TABLE IV

"CONDITION OF UNIT BY RACE

	Total Units Inspected	Fit	In need of Minor Repair	In need of Major Repair	Unfit for Use	Percent of substandard dwellings*
Negro	78	1	23	35	19	69.2
White	242	13	136	87	6	38.4
Vacant	8	0	2	6	0	75.0
TOTAL	328	14	161	128	25	46.6

* 'Substandard' means in need of major repair and unfit for use.

"Although relatively few of the units inspected were Negro occupied, a high percentage of the Negro units were substandard.

"This is an old section of the city, and many of the houses are not equipped with modern standard facilities. The inspector found 150 outside toilets and some 120 instances of shared toilet facilities. There were some 10 dwelling units with no inside water supply; more than four fifths lacked bathing facilities and hot water." (1)

TABLE V

TOTAL NUMBER OF WHITE AND NEGRO HOMES IN PITTSBURGH
BY TENURE: 1930

Total No. of Homes		No. Owned Homes				No. Rented Homes			
White	Negro	White	%	Negro	%	White	%	Negro	%
142,248	12,831	60,204	42.3	2,121	16.5	80,451	56.5	10,358	80.7

(1) Op. cit. P. 27

The number of homes owned by Negroes **was** **ostinated** in 1925 at approximately 11% of all Negro homes. The percent in 1930, 16.5, represents an appreciable increase but seems quite small when compared with 42.3% for whites. In 1934, the percentage of Negro-owned homes was approximately 17.0 so that it may be safe to say that no great change in proportion has occurred in recent years. Due to the frequent necessity of having to buy a house in order to get any dwelling accommodations at all, the proportion of owned homes among Negroes in the outlying districts of Pittsburgh, chiefly in mill centers, has always been greater than in Pittsburgh.

The 1930 census data and the 1934 Real Property Inventory both indicate, as is shown in Table V, that over 80% of Negro homes are rented. The effect of this situation, together with residential segregation, and a consequent shortage of houses in "Negro districts", is that Negroes pay higher rent than whites for similar or better accommodations. In 1937, a Pittsburgh Housing Association study disclosed that Negroes pay \$4.40 per room per month for dwellings which are usually in much worse condition than those rented by white families for \$4.23 per room per month. It was discovered that high taxable valuation, concentration of demand by Negroes, and a growing shortage in the Hill District have kept rents for the sub-standard housing in this area higher than in any other section of the city. Of 482 houses studied in the two Hill Wards, 76% were in

"bad" order and only 3 houses were in full compliance with the city building laws. In the Lower Hill, the room rental per month was \$4.85, and in the Upper Hill, the rate per room was \$4.68, both rates being higher than the city average for sub-standard housing.

The results of a sample of rents in all areas of sub-standard housing by the Pittsburgh Housing Association in 1937 are given in Table VI which shows the rents by all families by race and according to the source of income.

TABLE VI
SIZE AND RENTS OF SUB-STANDARD DWELLING UNITS IN PITTSBURGH
ACCORDING TO RACE AND SOURCE OF INCOME OF OCCUPANTS, 1939

Type of Family	Per-centage of Families	Average Room Size of Unit	Average Rent Per Unit	Average Rent Per Room
Relief - Negro	61	3.27	\$14.85	\$4.53
Relief - White	39	3.22	13.14	4.07
W.P.A. - Negro	58	3.12	14.52	4.66
W.P.A. - White	42	3.31	14.09	4.26
Employed-Negro	38	3.48	16.40	4.81
Employed-White	62	3.49	15.45	4.43

Negroes occupied 54% of the dwellings on which rental data were secured. 44% of the houses inspected were occupied by families receiving direct relief, 20% of WPA families, and 36% were occupied by families living on incomes derived from private employment. Obviously, the rents paid by privately employed families would be somewhat higher than those paid by WPA and relief families, as indicated.

There was, however, little difference in the size of units occupied by the three groups for both whites and Negroes. As to the rents paid by Negroes, the observations of 1937 are still applicable, namely, that their rents in general are higher than the rents for white families. It is especially significant to note that even the rents for Negroes on relief are higher than those for whites on the same status. Rents in the Hill District were, as usual, higher than in other sub-standard areas of the city, the rentals being \$15.21 and \$16.83 in the Lower and Upper, respectively. Although Pittsburgh Negroes still pay higher rentals than whites, due to the efforts of the Fair Rent Committee, of which Mr. R. Maurice Moss is a member, there have been no undue increases in Negro rentals. The Committee is performing an excellent service in this regard.

By the end of 1941, according to the Pittsburgh Housing Association there were no vacancies available to Negroes. Nevertheless, in 1942 many Negroes came to Pittsburgh for war work. Despite the fact that public defense housing will be available to Negroes, these houses will be greatly inadequate to meet the demands. The housing shortage for Negroes is expected to become most acute.

L. POTTSTOWN

On December 9, 1940, Mr. R. H. Spare, Secretary of the Pottstown Chamber of Commerce stated:

"Housing conditions for Negroes, in lowest income scale, are similar to those for whites. I know of several Negro families in very sub-standard homes.

"In 1941, the staff made a brief field study of Negro housing conditions in Pottstown and found that more than three-fourths of the Negro occupied dwellings were sub-standard with reference to their physical condition or overcrowding. Sanitation was fair.

M. POTTSVILLE

Mr. Irving K. Merchant, Executive Secretary of Lincoln House, made a study of Pottsville in 1934. The more recent field trips of the staff show no significant change. Hence, we shall quote from Mr. Merchant's study:

"The Negroes of Pottsville are concentrated within the bounds of the Fifth Ward, commonly referred to as 'The Bloody Fifty'. The most congested area in this ward is that section known as Minersville Street, especially the block beginning at Third Street and terminating at Seventh. Here we find a thickly settled area. Negroes also live to the west of Seventh Street north. A few families living outside of the Fifth Ward were found on Hotel and Railroad Streets. This Fifth Ward is a melting pot. The following races live within its borders:

Germans	Negroes
Dutch	Jews
Syrians	Spaniards
Welsh	Mexicans
Italians	Irish
Polish	Czecho-Slovakians
Lithuanians	Chinese

"The Ward, especially Minersville Street between Third and Seventh Streets, is a rendezvous of vice and crime. It is the section of the city to which strange Negroes are directed upon their arrival in the city.

* * * * *

"The housing of the Negro families in Pottsville is uniformly bad. The larger portion of the Negro population is confined to a section in which the houses have deteriorated and general structural conditions are unsatisfactory. This is reflected in high sickness and death rate, particularly from causes which have a relation to environment, such as tuberculosis and pneumonia. There is overcrowding and unlawfully poor sanitation. The problem of Negro health in Pottsville is closely interwoven with their condition of housing. In a previous paragraph it was noted that the Negro is found largely in unskilled labor. This naturally means that his wages are less and his ability to surround himself and family with the standards necessary to maintain normal conditions are lacking. The statistics reveal the following information on housing:

Renters	114
Owners	5
Buyers	6
Roomers (F)	110
Roomers (M)	200

"There have been selected from our questionnaire 100 typical homes and apartments for careful study as follows:

Toilets only	90
Reported in very bad condition	70
Reported dirty and untidy	65

"In these 100 houses and apartments the floors were dangerously bad, the rooms lacked ventilation, the plumbing was defective, the halls and stairways were dark and rickety, plastering was falling from the walls, windows were broken, basements were damp, and stove heating was almost universally used. The houses and apartments studied contained from five to seven rooms. In these quarters from nine to eighteen persons lived. One toilet, in many cases, served the need of three apartments. In some cases the toilets were in the basement, and in others the toilets were off the back porch. The overcrowding may be attributed to economic conditions, but conditions in the houses on Minersville

Street, in particular, would not be changed were economic conditions better. Many of these houses are 'joints', places of prostitution and vice, commercial, and boarding and rooming houses. There are, however, a number of smaller houses that are kept in commendable tidiness, and in some instances are beautifully appointed and kept."

N. READING

According to the Real Property Inventory of Reading, Negroes occupy 1.41% of all family accommodations but occupy 2.23% of all sub-standard units. Whereas only 65% of the white-occupied units are sub-standard, 94.5% of the Negro-occupied units are sub-standard. There has been a considerable increase in the number of Negroes in Reading due to the war industries. The result has been overcrowding and congestion. Given the fact of a general housing scarcity and residential segregation, it is safe to say that there will be little improvement in the housing for the Negroes of the lower income groups for the duration.

O. SCRANTON

Mrs. Elvira King, Executive Secretary of the Progressive Recreation and Social Service Center, made a brief survey of housing conditions in Scranton for the Commission. Her work was supplemented by three field trips by staff members of the Commission. On the whole, the housing situation in Scranton is somewhat better than in most municipalities in that the majority of Negroes do not live in slum areas. However, with reference to the physical condition of the specific structures,

the evidence seems to indicate that the majority of Negro-occupied dwellings are sub-standard.

P. WASHINGTON

Dr. Robert K. Poyton, Chairman of the Negro Civic Committee of Washington made a brief survey of housing conditions in Washington for the Commission:

"From the beginning of Washington, Pennsylvania to the present day, Negroes have been a part of the citizenry, dating back to the 18th Century. Through the early years the town grew rapidly reaching its peak population of 30,000 about 1920. Up until that time the Negro lived as he saw fit and was able to buy property in most any section of the city."

"Just prior to 1920 saw the first of the heavy migration of Negroes from Southern States and since then the dominant group has indirectly forced him into segregated areas and to the least desirable neighborhoods - mostly near the railroad tracks, factory areas and the city limits.

"Those Negroes who purchased property prior to 1920 in districts not strictly "Negro districts" maintain the same. However, all the leading Real Estate Operators are agreed that they will keep Negroes out of certain sections - not by segregation ordinances, but clauses written into the deeds preventing the sale of the property to Negroes. Others secretly agree not to rent to Negroes regardless of their worth as citizens."

"The last survey made by the Federal Housing Authority showed that 70% of all the houses in Washington were considered as sub-standard. This ratio is considerably higher for Negroes with approximately 15% unfit for habitation.

"At the present time it is hard to find Rooms for Negroes and impossible to find a house for Negro tenants. The family with children faces an even greater hardship in locating a place to live. There are no slum

areas. Houses of ill repute are scattered and are not confined to any particular area. The main "Negro Section" is located in the Third Ward and the elevation makes it a desirable residential area. The absence of inside toilets in many homes make them undesirable. About 26% of the homes in the Negro districts have outside toilets."

Q. WILKES-BARRE

In Wilkes-Barre, the Interracial Committee, under the leadership of Mrs. Evelyn B. Crook, and general guidance of the staff of the Commission^{made}, a survey was made of the Negro population. (1) Each realtor in the city was surveyed, (2) data from the Real Property Survey were obtained, (3) the findings were presented to a Negro sub-committee for interpretation and elaboration.

The Committee summarized the data of the realtors as follows:

"Realtors replying are unanimous in saying that Negroes do not pay more for the same type of accommodations than whites; half say they pay less. Most of them think Negroes compare unfavorably with whites in promptness of payment. Though only half have had pressure from white groups to prevent renting to Negroes, most think that when colored people begin to penetrate previously white area, property values begin to depreciate. It is practically agreed that prospective colored home buyers have more difficulty in relation to financing. Presence of restrictive covenants is denied, except in one case, which reports: 'Governed by owners who will not permit colored occupancy.' The prevailing explanation for the existence of most of the problems considered in the schedule is economic: 'Lower income;' lack of stabilized earnings'".

The Real Property Inventory of greater Wilkes-Barre showed that of the 213 Negro-occupied family accommodations,

only 30 of them were owner occupied. Thus, Negroes rented approximately 86% of the dwellings in which they lived and owned approximately 14% of them. On the otherhand, of the 19,887 white family accommodations, white occupants owned 59.68% of them. However, including all types of occupancy, only 3.28% of the Negro-occupied and 3.69% of the white-occupied dwellings were overcrowded. 98 or 46.0% of the Negro-occupied dwellings were in need of minor repairs; 90 of the Negro-occupied dwellings were in need of structural repairs and 17 of them were unfit for use. Thus, 50.2% of the Negro-occupied dwellings were either in need of structural repairs or unfit for use; only 15.2% of the white-occupied dwellings were so classified. Therefore, so far as the physical condition of Negro housing in Wilkes-Barre is concerned only eight of them were in good condition.

The Negro sub-committee was composed of educated persons; by virtue of their daily experiences as well as special study of the situation, they were competent observers. This sub-committee made the following report:

"a. The experience of the colored members of the Sub-committee reflects conditions apparently not recognized by the Real Estate Board; our members find the situation acute in the most extreme degree.

"b. Exodus from condemned buildings steadily increases the demand for Negro housing. Four buildings in which colored people have lived have been condemned and seized; a fifth is said to be condemned but still occupied, at increased rent.

"c. Dwellings standing vacant, some of them displaying for rent signs, are seldom made available to Negroes. To a white member who in Sub-Committee advocated a government housing project for Negroes, the reply was given: 'There is no need for that; there are many decent dwellings which are vacant.' In this connection, the Wilkes-Barre Record has just published (5/22/41) a statement showing 256 unoccupied dwellings in Wilkes-Barre and one or two adjacent areas, and 502 in an area about four miles in radius, comprising the city and some sixteen boroughs and townships. Apartments are not included in the count. 'The changes were viewed * * * as relatively insignificant in an area which included 50,000 families and a population of 220,000.'

"d. Members of the Sub-Committee are skeptical of the statement that the owners, and not the realtors, exercise initiative in exclusion.

"e. Though economic factors - unemployment and low wages - combine to lessen ability to meet the rental for adequate housing, it is difficult to show that this factor is more important than color. Experiences of individuals indicate that in the last analysis color is the greatest barrier. One member, a physician, testified that he walked the streets for three weeks looking for dwelling and office space without satisfying results.

"f. With the passage of time, residence of Negroes is more and more restricted to a limited area, which tends to become a 'segregated area'. The advocacy of a government housing project (c. above) as an initial movement toward solving housing problems, illustrates a prevailing tendency in the thought of white people. Colored people say that the colored group here is too small for this -- that it would be difficult to find enough people of one's own class, or enough congenial ones, to make housing in a government project in the least attractive.

"g. In a few instances, families caught in some of these dilemmas, but able to pay for adequate housing, are buying homes in rural villages. Presumably, the white fear

of pressure is not aroused by the presence of one or two upper-class colored families in a spacious village.

"h. For the great mass who must remain in town, the conditions are provocative of cumulative health and social maladjustments.

"Conclusion. It must be obvious that, because the housing situation affects such a large part of the colored population, and because it is so related to health and social maladjustments, the findings of this phase of the Negro Survey in Wilkes-Barre are of greater fundamental importance than those in any other phase, with the exception of those of health and employment. Shelter and subsistence are the prime needs of the human family."

R. WILLIAMSPORT

Under the joint sponsorship of the Division of Negro Research and Planning of the State Department of Labor and Industry, the Lycoming County Welfare Council, and the National Youth Administration, a "Survey of Employment, Social, Religious and Housing Conditions of the Negro Population of Williamsport, Pennsylvania," was made during the summer of 1941. The following statement on housing is given: (1)

"Among the 187 family groups there were but 14 with whom another family group shared quarters. In ten of these cases the families sharing quarters were related. Usually the secondary family was helping and being helped. Only two cases were entirely dependent on the primary family. The composition of the 14 secondary families varied among three families with father, mother and children; two families with father, children and no mother; and five families of mother and children.

(1) Section 5, Housing P. 3.

The 14 secondary families comprised 36 persons, 16 being males and 20 females. In two cases the secondary group had four members, in four cases three members, and the remaining seven had two members. The lowest figure on rooms per individual was .60, with 10 persons in six rooms. The highest figure was 1.75 rooms per individual based on four persons in seven rooms. In eight of the 14 units there were one or more rooms per individual.

"Non-family individuals lodged in thirty (30) of the units. Two units had as high as 3 lodgers. Generally the lodgers are independent and in only ten cases were they related to the family. The ages of the non-family individuals varied over too wide a range for close grouping. On the whole, no housing problem faces the non-family person in Williamsport." (1)

In summary, either or both because of overcrowding or poor physical condition, approximately three-fourths of the Negro-occupied dwellings in the State are sub-standard. In the preceding decade, irrespective of race, there was a great shortage of decent housing for all of the lower income groups of the State. Largely because of extremely low income, residential segregation, and its consequent artificial housing shortage, for Negro citizens, this shortage was disproportionately great. National Defense and war industries brought thousands of workers of both races to the State. This situation was further complicated by the removal to Philadelphia of several federal offices which were formerly located in Washington. Simultaneously, restrictions and

(1) Section 5, Housing - P. 8.

limitations have been placed upon building materials. Thus, there is progressive and accumulative obsolescence and deterioration. Despite the construction of a few thousands of defense housing units, the total newly constructed dwellings, rehabilitated dwellings, and all other types of emergency increases of dwelling units, there is a housing shortage. In our more industrial areas, this has meant increased room overcrowding as well as land overcrowding. Partly because of continued existence of residential segregation, the Negro housing situation is more distressing than that of other citizens.

6. VIOLATIONS OF HOUSING AND SANITATION CODES

Much emphasis must be placed upon the enforcement of housing and sanitation codes, ordinances, and regulation. These regulative and restrictive measures include a wide scope comprehending building codes, zoning, ordinances, tenement, and multiple-dwelling regulations, and ordinances to safeguard the health, safety, and morals of the public. These municipal ordinances should be adequate in their scope and should be rather rigidly enforced. However, as has been indicated, a given dwelling may be sub-standard by reason of overcrowding as well as its state of repair. Throughout the State, staff investigators have found that both tenants and landlords or their agents have been responsible for overcrowding. Taking all factors into consideration, Negroes pay higher rent than other citizens.

These rental prices in proportion to their total income, are so high that thousands of families are compelled to "double-up", "take in roomers", or "lodgers", and "boarders." This overcrowding, in its turn, overtaxes the physical facilities of the given dwellings so used. Often, landlords make some form of adjustments which tend to prevent their loss; they either increase the rent or increase the number of dwelling units in the given structure..

Thousands of landlords violate housing ordinances regulations, and laws by the conversion of old houses, stores, etc., into "apartments" which are illegal and for which they, very often, are refused licenses. Nevertheless, with or without licenses, thousands of Negroes occupy these "apartments". Howbeit, both tenants and landlords violate housing and sanitation rules in numerous other ways and thereby contribute to sub-standard housing. In general, many tenants, Negroes very much included, are ignorant of or indifferent to decent housing and sanitation regulations. Many of them are positively destructive. As compared with other citizens, Negroes do not pay their rents as promptly as do other citizens. This was especially true during depression years. These factors did not encourage landlords and their agents to keep properties in a good state of repair. A program of landlord and tenant education and responsibility is evidently needed. In addition thereto, the various municipalities should enforce housing laws more continuously, promptly and rigidly.

Regarding the problem of violations, Mr. Edmund Bacon, Managing Director of the Philadelphia Housing Association, released the following statement on December 31, 1940:

"The foundation of a good housing program rests on the enforcement of decent standards by law in all houses throughout the city. In Philadelphia we have the law in the official Housing Code, but it is not adequately enforced. The law requires that all houses be kept in good repair and be damp-proof. It requires that all houses and all apartments of two rooms or more have a water supply, where there is a water main in the street. It requires that every tenement house display a license showing that it meets these and other standards yet thousands of tenement houses are operated without a license. Thousands of Philadelphia families live in homes which violate the law.

"There are several reasons for this: One is that the people do not understand their rights under the law and insist upon them. One is an insufficient number of housing inspectors in City Hall. Another is the housing shortage. We know there is a housing shortage in Philadelphia but it is much more severe in the lower rent houses than in the more expensive ones. When there are no good houses for families paying a low rent, these families must continue to occupy the bad ones."

What Mr. Bacon has said about Philadelphia in 1940 obtains today. However, it is hardly more true of Philadelphia than other cities in the State. Although graft plays a part in the situation, the major difficulties center around the fact that in no major city in the State are there more than one-third as many persons as are necessary to enforce housing codes adequately. Too often, our municipalities enforce the housing codes in a negative manner. For the most part, they inspect only when complaints are made; they refuse permits

and licenses only when they are applied for; and too often, fail to enforce the law after attention has been called to its violation. Thus, it is not so much that inspectors positively approve dwellings that should be condemned as it is that they do not inspect regularly enough and thoroughly enough to enforce the housing code properly. In all of the major cities of the commonwealth, because of the status of housing for low income groups, every dwelling should be inspected thoroughly, at least three times a year, by city and county officials. Both tenants and landlords should be made to observe housing codes.

If State action is necessary in this regard, such must be recommended, for without a doubt, violations of the housing code constitute, by far, the most serious single factor in housing for the lower income groups. During the emergency, many landlords and realtors are neglecting their duties under the false assumption that priorities prevent necessary repairs. Considering the great increase in Pennsylvania's urban areas due to the war effort and given the importance of housing to the war effort, it must be regarded as especially unpatriotic to permit gross violations of housing codes.

However, be the enforcement of housing codes ever so important, such actions are necessarily negative. They tend to protect and preserve but they do not create housing. These ordinances do not erect houses, they merely determine the minimum standards by which dwellings must be constructed,

classified and maintained. Moreover, the higher the standards and the more rigidly they are enforced, the higher the cost of building, maintenance and taxes; these, in their turn, necessitate a corresponding increase in occupancy costs. Therefore, while we must continue to emphasize the effective use of police power as a necessary and helpful factor in improving housing conditions, it should be kept in mind that there is a limit beyond which police power, per se, ceases to be an effective measure for improving sub-standard housing. Decent housing for which persons of low income are able to pay cannot be obtained by police power. Public and private subsidy must convert, rehabilitate, and for the most part, build the necessary housing for these people. Therefore, the immediate task involves the proper use of police power, the erection of as much defense housing as is consistent with the progress of the war, and rehabilitation within the limits provided by the law. In the post-war period, the construction of low cost housing will be one of the most serious needs of the people in the State and nation.

Very closely interrelated with the economic factor underlying violations of housing and sanitation codes is the fact that income from relief and other forms of assistance administered by the Department of Public Assistance, WPA, NYA, and other forms of tax-supported agencies has never been sufficient to pay for decent low cost housing.

On December 31, 1940, Mr. Bacon pointed out:

"As long as the maximum rental allowance to the 59,000 families in Philadelphia receiving General Assistance and Aid to Dependent Children remains inadequate there will be a housing problem. At present the largest amount allowed any of these families for rent is \$9.75 per month. In the whole city of Philadelphia there are only 5,000 houses or apartments renting for this amount, or not enough for one out of every ten families receiving public assistance. Moreover 93% of these homes were substandard. Studies show that relief families actually pay more for rent than the \$9.75 allowed.

"When the relief authorities recognize the actual amount of rent the families have to pay, and give allowances to cover it, the foundation of a good housing program will be laid. Then the relief administration with the cooperation of the Division of Housing and Sanitation and the Bureau of Building Inspection may insist that all homes occupied by families receiving public assistance are up to the standards of the Housing Code.

"Then every person should understand his rights under the law and insist upon them. New homes will have to be provided for families now living in bad housing at rents they can afford to pay. Public housing is the only means at present for securing these much needed homes, and adequate public housing is necessary for proper law enforcement."

As has been indicated elsewhere by Mr. Borland, the rental allowances of the Department of Public Assistance were just as inadequate in Pittsburgh as in Philadelphia. Moreover, there were no municipalities in the State for which these rental allowances were hardly more adequate. However, although these allowances were very inadequate, they were a great improvement over the years during which thousands of poor people, both Negroes and whites, were unable to pay any rent. Hence, although no landlord should be permitted to

neglect his obligations, due consideration must be given their side of the case. In numerous instances, landlords have produced records which show that from 1930 to 1940 they have lost considerable sums due to the fact that their dwellings were occupied for months by persons who paid them nothing; when later they did get rent somewhat regularly, it was insufficient to cover the expenses of maintaining the given dwellings. Therefore, as bad as housing conditions are today, much of the difficulty can be traced to facts of this nature. Certainly, no fair minded person could expect landlords to provide decent housing under these conditions. Obviously, relief grants should be adequate and the Department of Public Assistance should see to it that each of its clients is decently housed.

More serious than the inadequacy of relief grants was the fact that during the past decade, the mean annual income of most Negroes who did work was so low that unless some other basic need was lacking, they could hardly afford to pay for decent housing. Therefore, not excusing any landlord or agent for graft, criminal negligence, or for renting illegal "apartments", without excusing officers of the law for misfeasance or malfeasance with reference to housing codes, and in spite of race prejudice, it would appear that low income is considerably responsible for the poor housing of the Negroes of the State. Furthermore, when the American standard of living is taken as a basis of judgment, this condition has been all too characteristic of the majority

of Negro citizens of the State throughout most of their history. Hence, the seriousness of the present employment status of the majority of Negro citizens.

7. RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

Residential segregation is an observable fact. It did not happen by accident nor is its existence maintained by mere chance. The Negro who tries to rent or buy in the better residential sections of the various municipalities in the State will soon become aware of this fact. The staff has undertaken to find out some of the elemental factors underlying residential segregation. To this end, realtors, bankers, officers in building and loan associations, landlords, and other responsible business men, were asked if they knew of the operation of restrictive covenants in their respective localities. 69.2% of them said that they did not know of restrictive covenants; 30.8% said that they did. Upon investigation, it was found in every urban area in which field research was conducted, that there were either or both, written and unwritten covenants preventing Negroes from buying or renting in certain blocks, and neighborhoods. Nevertheless, it is not assumed that all of the informants who said that they did not know of restrictive covenants intended to mislead the staff. Some of them gave their honest opinion. It should be said that on more than one occasion, responsible white informants have not known of discriminations against Negroes. In general, however, it

seems almost unbelievable that such a large number of persons who devote their time to real estate should be ignorant of residential segregation.

Moreover, 62.0% of these informants said that they had never been restrained from renting or selling to Negroes because of neighborhood or other types of social pressure; many others admitted such had been the case; still others did not answer this question. Here again, some further field study was needed. The staff learned from reliable sources that throughout the State, it is an unwritten policy of many real estate boards that their members shall not sell or rent to Negroes in blocks in which there are not already one or more Negro residents. Many business men have informed the staff members that it is not good business policy to do otherwise; others point out that it would be unsound business not to restrict Negroes. Consequently, in scores of instances, while the correct technical construction may have been placed upon this question, its spirit was obviously not kept in mind.

On the contrary, every Negro informant was very much aware of the fact that the various social pressures do operate strongly on established business firms to adhere to the pattern of residential segregation. Too often, business firms establish as well as help to maintain the pattern. Many of them feel that the entrance of Negroes into certain neighborhoods automatically means the depreciation of property values. The evidence seems to indicate that, on

the whole, the invasion into a white neighborhood of Negroes of the very lowest economic status does result in a depreciation of property values in excess of their normal rate. However, an invasion of Negroes of the better class tends to raise property values in excess of their normal values. In any case, it must be kept in mind that the established pattern for the growth of cities includes the factor that when Negroes begin to move into a given neighborhood its decline has already begun. Even so, notwithstanding all this, most often it is the speculator and not the established and respected business man who sells or rents Negroes property in blocks in which they have not lived previously or are not wanted. High rents and excessive interest rates characterize speculators.

The staff asked business informants:

"What other racial minority groups are discriminated against in the matter of renting and purchasing property located in certain areas?"

Objections were strongest to Orientals; following them were certain Latin Americans, nationalities of southern and central Europe, and Jews. That other minorities suffer from residential segregation does not lighten the burden of the Negro. It merely points out, among other things, that all Americans must do their share toward the realization of democracy in our State and nation. When once an undemocratic policy is practiced on one racial minority, it never stops until others are included. Discriminations against racial minorities soon inevitably lead to discriminations against

other types of minorities and so on it goes. Psychologically, prejudiced discriminations, based as they are on selfish motives and a false sense of values, are pyramidal in form and structure, running riot through all cultural values. They do not end even in one's personal family. Clearly, such prejudices are instituted and maintained for the elevation of a few who desire to exploit the many.

The following ideas, expressed by two realtors, represent the thinking of too large a proportion of responsible citizens:

"Personally I do not believe a colored man should want to move in a block with all whites surrounding him. Because he is not among his own people. I can cite you a case of a very fine colored attorney who did that very thing in my locality. After living there for 4 years he gladly sold his residence and moved among his own people."

"Colored race should move to certain sections in Philadelphia like Harlem, N. Y., or Richmond, Va., or South Chicago, Ill. They would be happier."

From such statements, these persons appear to "know the Negro" but they cannot know him until they understand his desires to participate freely in all the blessings of our democracy, residential liberties included.

Admitting exceptions, the vast majority of Negroes who seek residence in mixed and all white blocks or neighborhoods do not do so with the intent of becoming intimate and personal friends with the whites about them. They are merely seeking the most desirable place to live in accordance with their income. They want the best houses in the best neighborhood

which their money can buy. So long as there are restrictions and exclusions in the whole economic field, the number of Negroes who can afford residence in various types of neighborhoods will also be restricted. Evidently, there is a relationship between these two types of factors. In fact, they are motivated by the same socio-economic factors; prejudice underlies both.

Your staff realized that realtors, landlords, bankers, officers of building and loan associations, and mortgaging companies are very potent factors in molding public opinion as well as in reflecting it. Consequently, the staff and a large number of reliable volunteer workers interviewed white persons who live in neighborhoods into which Negroes have moved in the following areas: Ardmore, Chester, Norristown, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Steelton, and West Chester. The questions were designed to determine partly the extent to which business men express the sentiments of whites who live in mixed neighborhoods or the extent to which they help to create and maintain residential segregation. Likewise, Negroes who had once lived in all-Negro neighborhoods but had later moved into mixed neighborhoods were asked the same questions as white residents.

62% of the white residential informants, who expressed an opinion, said that police protection was just as good since Negroes moved into the neighborhood; 22% said that police protection was worse; others said that they were unable to express an opinion. 95% of the Negro informants said that

police protection is much better in the mixed neighborhoods. 85% of these white informants said that their respective cities remove garbage just as often now as they did before Negroes began to come into their respective neighborhoods. 57% of them stated that the streets were just as clean as before Negroes began to reside therein; 35% said that the streets were dirtier; others did not answer the question. Negro informants indicated that while the respective cities performed their duties with the same regularity in mixed as in all-Negro neighborhoods, the residents in the mixed neighborhoods were more careful not to litter the sidewalks with over-filled receptacles. Various field trips by staff workers tend to confirm this statement.

51% of the white informants said that their streets were more noisy since Negroes began to move in; whereas 41% said that their streets were no worse; others did not answer the question. A study of the various sections of these cities showed that while the above figures as a whole are correct, in certain sections as high as 88% of the white informants said that their streets were more noisy as a result of the influx of Negro residents. So far as the staff could judge, we found that our informants were correct in their respective estimates. When the better class of Negroes move into a fairly good neighborhood, they make no more noise and most often less noise than their white neighbors. Generally, it is the more underprivileged Negro who makes excess noise and prevents his neighbors from sleeping.

72% of the white families said that they did not visit any of the Negro residents in their neighborhood but many of them said that they "speak" to them. 18% said that they made occasional visits to Negro homes or that the Negroes visited them occasionally. A very small percentage of them said that they were equally as friendly with white as with colored residents. 53% said that they did not permit their children to play with Negro children; 43% said that their children did play with Negro children.

Counting both those who had and those who do not have children, one-half of the white informants said that they felt that Negro and white children may play together while young but that as they grow older they should seek their respective racial groups. Accordingly, they estimated that the median and modal age at which separation should begin is eleven for girls and thirteen for boys.

We asked our white informants if they intended to move out of their respective mixed neighborhoods. 12% said that they would like to do so; 20% said that they were going to do so, and 68% said that they did not intend to move. We checked over these latter answers from several angles and found that nearly one-half of these white people who intended to remain were in business, politics, or otherwise received some special benefits from being in mixed neighborhoods. Many others owned their own homes and had been living in the neighborhood for a long time and did not care to move. These persons who plan to move either gave

the section of the town or merely said "in a white neighborhood".

Howbeit, it is interesting to note that 64% of the informants said that there were no special advantages or disadvantages in living in their respective mixed neighborhoods. Those who listed advantages said that they were centrally located or that they lived near trains, trolleys, buses, churches, and stores. Among the disadvantages listed were: too many roughnecks and drunkards, too much noise, too many tap rooms, too great a property depreciation, and too many fights.

We asked another question which was a check on the above question. While there were a few inconsistencies, it is remarkable to observe the high degree of consistency between the two questions. It is very important to point out that on the whole, white people who live in mixed neighborhoods do not feel that the disadvantages are as great as some business men and others seem to believe. This fact gains significance when it is pointed out that the white informants had lived in their respective neighborhoods four or more years longer than the respective city median number of years of owner occupancy. Your Commission, therefore, submits that Negroes could secure better housing without an undue amount of race friction or property depreciation.

In summarizing all aspects of this type of field studies, it may be said that only those whites of the lowest income group will move into an all-Negro neighborhood.

Lower middle class whites prefer not to move into mixed neighborhoods but often do so. The majority of those whites who do live in mixed neighborhoods among the better class of Negroes seem content to remain there and point out rather definitely that there are no major disadvantages in living among Negroes. We have observed, nevertheless, that many of these persons desire some economic or political advantage by living in mixed neighborhoods. However, Negroes of the lowest income group are generally undersirable neighbors. It is important to note that Negro informants of the better class are just as positive as are whites relative to the disadvantages of living among Negroes of the lowest income group. But when one compares whites of a similar status, there is little to choose between them. Thus, the indications for a wider distribution of wealth among Negroes are self-evident.

8. PERSONAL AND SOCIAL COST OF NEGRO SUB-STANDARD HOUSING

From many sources, among which were real estate officers of banks, officers in building and loan associations, realtors, and landlords throughout the State, we undertook to answer the question: Do Negroes pay less, as much or more rent than other citizens of the State? Our conclusion is that, considering the physical conditions of the given house, its age, its conveniences, its location, and the amount of public services rendered, Negroes do pay more rent than other citizens in proportion to value received. This would obtain despite the fact that the city medium rentals for whites may

be equal to or exceed those for colored. Many landlords and realtors have admitted that Negroes pay higher rents but pointed out that as a rule, the Negro renter of the lowest income group is destructive; that his length of tenancy is shorter than that of other citizens; and moreover because he is economically unstable, he is a greater collection risk than other citizens; consequently, higher rentals are justified. Without continuing in this circle, we must admit that there is some truth in this point of view. Negro landlords themselves often point out that Negroes of the lowest income group are considerably destructive. However, whites of a similar economic status are hardly any better.

With reference to risks involved in tenants who are on WPA, NYA, or relief and other forms of tax-supported agencies, one must admit that to date even public housing authorities have found it practically impossible to solve the housing problems of any considerable number of such persons irrespective of race. The distressing fact is that, during the last decade, Negroes have received funds from the various tax-supported and charitable agencies at a rate of from two to nearly five times their proportion in the general population; and, consequently, large numbers of them have been almost doomed to sub-standard housing. Moreover, unless some other basic human need is neglected, the income of the majority of self-supporting Negroes is insufficient to purchase decent housing. In other words, whether the source

of income of the majority of Negroes comes from tax-supported agencies or otherwise, sub-standard living is very probable.

As has been pointed out elsewhere, due to many factors, such as the low income of the head of the family, and the consequent need for funds with which to supplement the family income, high rents and the high costs involved in home ownership, thousands of Negro families have been forced to take "roomers" or "lodgers". Especially during the time when the depression was at its peak, many families were forced to "double up". Proportionately, this unfortunate condition occurred with much greater frequency among Negroes than among whites. Aside from the great probability of over-taxing the physical facilities of the given family accommodation thus occupied, it is well-known that individual and family health and morals generally suffer from such occupancy.

With reference to the prompt payment of rent, the majority of our informants stated that Negro citizens did not compare favorably with other citizens. The Philadelphia Housing Association has made numerous studies pertaining to rental arrearages; during the past decade each study showed that a much larger percentage of Negroes were behind in their rents than were whites. In 1936, the Association made the following very significant statement:

"The effect of unemployment on the rental situation is strikingly brought out by a comparison of rent delinquency for families on relief. Thirty and three-tenths per cent of all the white families interviewed admitted they were on relief, while 56.8% of the

Negroes made such an admission. Of the white families on relief, 50% were in arrears, and 59.5% of the Negro relief families were in arrears."

Regardless of the reasons for arrearages, landlords must pay taxes, water rent, interest on mortgages, insurance, and other constant costs. When arrearages occur, repairs and other physical improvement must be neglected. Consequently, in fairness to landlords, some of the excessive sub-standard housing of Negroes can be attributed to their higher percentage of arrearages.

9. NEGRO HOME-OWNERSHIP

Having summarized, rather briefly, the difficulties of the individual Negro tenant, what has been the record with reference to the individual Negro prospective home buyer? In 1890, Negroes throughout the United States owned 18.7% of the homes in which they lived; in that same year, 17.8% of Pennsylvania Negro homes were owner occupied. In 1900, Negroes throughout the United States owned 20.4% of the homes in which they lived; in that same year, 12.8% of Pennsylvania's Negro homes were owner occupied. In 1910, the Negro national percentage was 22.5; it was 13.3 for Pennsylvania Negroes. In 1920, these percentages were 22.3 and 15.5 respectively; and in 1930, the percentages were 23.9 and 18.9 respectively. Although the 1940 census figures are not available, it is expected that there will be a general decline in Negro home ownership. Although there has been a steady increase in home ownership among Pennsylvania Negroes

from 1900 to 1930, it has not kept pace with Negro home ownership throughout the United States. Moreover, as compared with the mean home ownership for all citizens throughout the nation, Pennsylvania Negroes are still further behind. For example, in 1920, 44.6% of all homes in the United States were owner-occupied; in 1930, the percentage was 46.8. The percentages are substantially the same for the two preceding decades.

Howbeit, considering all factors, Negroes in Pennsylvania have done remarkably well in buying homes. In the decade between 1920 and 1930, Pennsylvania Negroes made the greatest increase in home ownership of any non-southern state. Moreover, their thrift is proved by the fact that the volume of business owned and operated by Pennsylvania Negroes far exceeds that of the "average" for Negroes in the United States. These and other factors show that despite his many handicaps, the Pennsylvania Negro strives to achieve financial security. The evidences from home ownership and business indicate that given a fair chance, the Negro citizens of the State would not have been recipients of public and private charity in excess of their proportion in the total population. The implications for both white and colored citizens seem clear in this regard.

Numerous Negro prospective home buyers and some white realtors have informed the staff that the FHA observes the established pattern of residential segregation. To the question:

"Do prospective Negro buyers have more difficulty than whites in obtaining FHA loans?"

61% of the informants who answered the question replied: "Yes"; 39% replied: "No". The staff has tried through several sources to obtain the facts in the case. The following letter was written to the Commission on July 8, 1942 by Mr. Leo A. Kirk, District Director of the Federal Housing Administration:

* * * "I regret to have to advise, however, that we have no way of ascertaining whether the applicant and mortgagor are Negro or white. This information has no influence on our deliberation and is not requested in our application, therefore, it does not appear anywhere in our record of the docket of the insured loan. Naturally, a considerable number of Negroes in this State have taken advantage of the facilities of the Federal Housing Administration." * * *

In the absence of the official statistical data, one can but rely upon other evidences. Negroes indicate very definitely that they have not received benefits from the various federal housing agencies either in proportion to their need or in terms of their percentage in the total population. A number of white realtors have substantiated this claim. Unfortunately, the findings of the staff are such that in the absence of the official records from the District office or from Washington, they tend to confirm the belief of restrictions and exclusions.

Throughout the State we asked responsible persons the question:

"Do prospective Negro buyers have more difficulty than whites in obtaining finance?"

66% of our informants who answered the question replied: "Yes" and 34% replied: "No". In other words, the majority of

realtors, bankers, officers in building and loan associations, landlords and officers in mortgaging companies said that Negroes find it more difficult to obtain money for buying homes than do white people. Many business men who admit that they refuse loans to a larger percentage of Negro applicants than to whites, point out that they do so on business rather than racial grounds. They say that the Negro applications involve greater risks than whites. In many instances there is much truth in these statements, for, too often, in addition to low income, prospective Negro home buyers have no choice but to attempt to buy a house which is both sub-standard and located in blighted, deteriorating or slum areas. Further explanations will lead one back to the vicious circle.

It should be added that in almost every urban locality there are agencies which do not lend Negroes money. Others do so somewhat sparingly and often at higher rates; but there are also some institutions which seem to be rather fair on the question. On the whole, although Negroes pay more for their homes than other citizens, and although there are serious problems in Negro home ownership, it is possible, in every urban community, for Negroes to purchase homes. While residential segregation is a very definite handicap, the lack of money is the greatest handicap to Negro home ownership and also the rental of decent housing.

Aside from the fact that Negro housing, though inferior in physical condition to the housing of other citizens, costs

more and is more difficult to obtain, there are other individual costs of poor housing to be considered. It is well known that sub-standard housing, especially as it is related to blighted and slum areas, is highly correlated with a high incidence of morbidity and mortality, and excessive rates of law violation. The slogan "the family that plays together stays together" has significance for those who are interested in the individual and social effect of sub-standard housing. The inhabitants of sub-standard housing suffer from an inadequacy of recreational facilities for individual and family health and leisure time activities. Thus, as is to be expected, family ties become weaker due to the fact that its various members must go elsewhere to seek much of the pleasure which should be afforded in the home. Too often, some of the members seek their recreation in the various forms of unwholesome commercialized activities which may often lead its devotees to crime, broken homes, and abject poverty.

No one believes that all persons who occupy sub-standard dwellings in blighted and slum areas are doomed to ruin. On the other hand, we know that the majority of these persons cannot and do not escape all of the unfortunate consequences of "bad" housing. This is axiomatic for it is the more sub-standard areas in which rates for crime and delinquency, morbidity and mortality, broken homes, aid to dependent children, retardation, truancy, and unemployment are highest.

Many detrimental personal habits developed by slum dwellers often become so firmly fixed that they are unprepared for better housing. For instance, in numerous cases, the staff has observed the destructive, unsanitary, and untidy habits of former slum dwellers who have been able to secure better housing. In short, one cannot rid one's self of slum habits by merely moving out of a given slum area. Many of these persons ought to be given regular and supervised instructions in the fundamentals of personal hygiene, home cleanliness, and public health sanitation. Otherwise, many of them will remain unfit to occupy decent housing. Here is an area in which non-institutionalized education can do a fine job in rehabilitation.

In hundreds of localities and in thousands of instances, tenant education has demonstrated that the vast majority of older persons and 95% of the younger ones can be taught and encouraged to take the proper care of their homes.

10. THE SOCIAL AND PUBLIC COST OF SUB-STANDARD HOUSING

Even though a large percentage of the total population can afford to pay for sub-standard housing only, the communities and municipalities in which these sub-standard areas are located bear an excessive cost for their maintenance. Beginning in 1932, the City Planning Commission of Philadelphia began a study of the load and cost of the area between the two rivers, from Washington Avenue to Poplar Street. The Commission published some very astounding facts. Table VII of the Commission is self explanatory.

TABLE VII

"SURVEY AREA BETWEEN THE DELAWARE AND SCHUYLKILL
RIVERS FROM WASHINGTON AVENUE TO POPLAR ST. (1)

Rates per 1000 Population							
Area	Births	Deaths	Infants	Causes of		Sickness	Non-com- municable 36 Hospital Records
		All Causes	Per 1000 Births	Active T.B.	Mental Diseases	Commun- icable Diseases	
Survey Area	15.34	15.33	16.75	17.74	1.70	13.66	111.94
City with- out Survey Area	17.35	12.03	51.08	7.46	0.69	14.21	73.82
North Zone Survey Area	15.09	15.28	72.07	16.78	1.67	12.12	107.13
Central Zone Survey Area	18.05	28.62	34.48	33.60	1.87	18.67	177.35
South Zone Survey Area	15.49	14.98	53.36	18.16	1.72	14.95	114.50"

Thus, slum clearance involves not merely "bad" housing, but also a type of socio-economic status. Domestic problems, vocational guidance, malnutrition, poverty, health problems, and other socio-economic factors are involved. In general, therefore, many problems are indicated by the mere presence of dwellers of blighted, deteriorated, and slum areas. In summary, the individual cost of typical Negro housing is expensive in dollars and cents, costly in health, education, law observance, employability, and, above all, tends to be detrimental to personal character.

(1) Newman, Bernard J., "Insanitation", HOUSING IN PHILADELPHIA, 1934, P. 10.

However, Table VII may well include the fact that whereas, in the survey area there were 28 fires per 1,000 buildings, in the rest of the city there were only 14.7 fires per 1,000 dwellings. Likewise, the cost for fire protection in the area surveyed was more than four times that for the city as a whole. Were it not for the fact that the city's fire fighting services are among the best in the nation the situation would be worse. In the survey area, the per capita cost of arrests was \$14.97 for white while it was only \$3.85 for the rest of the city. Should we add the cost of goods and services given to the residents of the survey area by public and private charitable agencies, the cost would be even more alarming.

Table VIII treats certain anti-social facts pertaining to the area surveyed:

TABLE VIII

"ANTI-SOCIAL RECORD OF SURVEY AREA (1)

	Arrests per 1000 Popu- lation	Juvenile Delin- quents per 1000 Children Ages 7-15	Unexcused School Absences per 1000 School En- rollment	County Relief per 1000 Fam.	City Rec. Housing & Sanitary Complaints per 1000 Buildings
Survey Area	251.68	36.49	204.11	662.79	145.64
City Without Survey Area	64.63	13.60	110.78	160.45	42.60
N. Zone Survey Area	249.69	32.55	156.33	671.08	149.54
Central Zone Survey Area	357.19	42.33	402.44	399.62	61.19
S. Zone Survey Area	250.46	39.67	243.30	584.04	157.62"

(1) Newman, Bernard J., Loc. cit.

In order to get a more vivid picture of the individual and social costs of slums, let us consider a small section of the survey area; for example, between Pine and Bainbridge Streets, from Broad Street to the Delaware River. One year, arrests in this area ran as high as 483.75 per 1,000, while, for the rest of the city, the rate was only 64.6 per 1,000 population. Whereas the prison cases per 1,000 per population in the rest of the city was only 1.56, it was 17.5 per 1,000 in the area surveyed. Thus, the area surveyed contributed to the prison population at a rate which was more than eleven times that of the rest of the city. Moreover, it contributed inmates to the House of Correction more than fourteen times its share.

The costs of fire services, crime, delinquency, health, street cleaning, maintenance, and lighting, waste and garbage removal, traffic control, education and recreation and other public services in the survey area exceeded the income from taxes many times. Even though these costs are paid by citizens who live in other areas, it is far from the truth to think that this is all. The ill-health, immorality, sufferings, and sorrows of slum inhabitants greatly affect all citizens.

Likewise, in Philadelphia, Doctor Leon Arons studied the arrests of boys under 16 years of age during the years 1934-1936 inclusively in relation to the total boy population and housing conditions as revealed in the 1934 Real Property Inventory. Correlation coefficients were obtained and the

results of the study have been thus summarized:⁽¹⁾

"Briefly, the results indicated (1) the higher the proportion of overcrowded dwellings, the higher the arrest rate for boy residents; (2) the greater the density of population, the higher the arrest rate; (3) the higher the proportion of residences unfit for use or needing major structural repairs the higher the arrest rate; and (4) the longer the period of occupancy, the lower the arrest rate."

In general, students of the social sciences have found that there is significant association between law violation and slums. This fact obtains irrespective of the race involved.

The Real Property Inventory of the Metropolitan Area of Harrisburg points out that in 1935 the Pennsylvania Tuberculosis Society published a "Tuberculosis Study of Dauphin County", which indicated that the Negro mortality rate was 129.2 per 100,000 whereas that of the white population was 42 per 100,000. In 1935, the Harrisburg Tuberculosis rate was 38.8 per 100,000 for whites and 141.0 for Negroes. However, whereas only 14% of white inhabitants live in sub-standard houses, 72% of the Negroes live in sub-standard houses. Thus, poor housing and poor health are very highly correlated.

(1) REAL PROPERTY SURVEY AND LOW INCOME HOUSING SURVEY, Philadelphia, 1929, P. 43

Pennsylvania cities are not unique in this regard. They merely follow the general national and international facts known to everyone. For example, in 1934, an analysis of a slum area of Cleveland was made. It was revealed that whereas the per capita cost for public health work for the slum area was \$2.02, for the rest of the city the cost was only \$0.64; whereas the per capita cost for tuberculosis for the slum area was \$3.04, it was only \$1.21 for the rest of the city. Likewise, the cost per capita for the fire protection was \$11.50 per person for a large slum area and only \$4.20 for the rest of the city. In Hartford, a slum area which occupied one-tenth of the city's total area had one-fourth of its total population. The slum area contributed 57% of the city's juvenile delinquency, 62.5% of its arrests for adult delinquency, and 51% of its total tuberculosis cases. The East Side slum of Detroit had a tuberculosis rate of 6.5 times that of the rest of the city; its pneumonia rate was 8.0 times that of the rest of the city. Similar results have been found in Wilmington, Boston, New York, Chicago, Milwaukee, and other cities. Table IX is very interesting:

TABLE IX

CITY	Percent of city area	Percent of juvenile population	Percent of juvenile delinquency
Philadelphia	9.4	25.1	46
Richmond	18.8	31.0	50
Birmingham	12.1	12.2	25
Denver	5.7	11.0	25
Seattle	6.3	11.2	25

Perhaps the most significant of recent studies in the field of housing and delinquency was made by Dr. Clifford R. Shaw who surveyed a slum area in Chicago which for a period of over thirty years had been producing disproportionately high delinquency and crime rates. The particular slum area was first Irish and German, then Polish, Jewish and Italian, finally Negroes and a few Mexicans came. As the years passed, irrespective of race and nationality, the rates of law violation increased. Nevertheless, as each racial group moved out of the given slum area, its volume of law violations decreased. The implications are clear. However, one should not conclude that "bad" housing is a direct cause of delinquency and crime. Bad housing is, though, a conditioning and contributing factor. Perhaps, aside from overcrowding and related problems, the physical condition of a dwelling does not contribute as much to delinquency as a "bad" neighborhood. In other words, a child's social habits and attitudes are more influenced by his associates than by the house in which he lives. Therefore, it is evident that a slum is far more than the sum total of its unsanitary, hazardous shacks; it is, to be sure, a way of life which influences the outlook of the majority of its inhabitants. Apathy, indifference, and blighted hopes too often characterize many of its dwellers. Political corruption, high morbidity and mortality rates, as well as excessive delinquency and crime rates abound.

11. CAN SLUMS BE MADE FINANCIALLY PROFITABLE ?

All persons who have property investments near slums lose money because of the depreciation of their property values. Likewise, the presence of slums decreases the possibility for responsible buyers and renters of these properties. Ill-health and slums are significantly correlated. Poor health means inefficiency and the loss of time from one's job. People are often sick because they are poor as well as poor because they are sick. Moreover, persons who live in slums are greater industrial hazards in terms of accidents. Employers of persons in the domestic and personal service fields pay a part of the costs of slums through infections from contagious diseases and a relatively high accident rate. Under what conditions, if any, are slums profitable to landlords? Mr. Wilson S. Borland of the Pittsburgh Housing Association answers this question as follows:

"This question is a complex one, difficult to answer without many qualifications and reservations. However, one can state a couple of generalities which are true. If an owner is conscientious and concerned with the adequate maintenance of his property, it is doubtful that he can do much more than break even over a period of years. For example, over the last ten years it is very doubtful that slum property has been able to do anything but carry itself on the average income over the years. Only in the last couple of years has the rental income from such property been greater than its liability. In the depression years even unscrupulous landlords lost money.

"In the Pittsburgh Hill District, for example, the assessments are completely out of line, based not on economic reality but on fallacious theories. That is, the assessors say here is 50 front feet of property, that because of its nearness to town and its possible future use, is worth about \$3000. Add to that a dwelling worth \$2000 and we'll tax it on \$5000. Actually, in its present use and condition, it is not worth more than about \$2000 and the owner cannot rent for more than a \$2000 property would bring. A reputable realtor states that as much as 60 percent of the rental income from Hill District property under his management goes for taxes. The only landlords who can really 'get much' from slum property are those who buy up old stuff for a song, forget to repair and pay taxes, milk the property for every cent they can and then let it go to the city for delinquency." (1)

Mr. Richard W. McCaskey, President of the Octavia Hill Association, an organization which owns and manages 400 properties in Philadelphia, has prepared the following answer to the above question:

"Rental income from sub-standard housing is not very stable investment, but pays a high return when the working conditions of the country are satisfactory." (2)

In a letter dated October 27, 1942 from Mr. Sydney Maslen, Chairman of the National Committee of Housing Associations, he states:

(1) Exhibit No. 1

(2) Exhibit No. 2

"Many owners of slum dwellings claim they do not make any profit because of the interest on mortgages and high city taxes. Apparently in these cases the mortgages get the benefit. However, mortgages may have been given on inflated valuations and the mortgagees feel that they have a poor investment. Furthermore, the city frequently cannot collect taxes on inflated valuations in slum areas. Owners who neglect upkeep may make a profit on slum property, also the speculators in such properties have profited in the past."

Aside from the waste and misdirection of human energy of the people directly involved, the rest of society, willingly or unwillingly, knowingly or otherwise, shares the social and moral ills of the slums as well as pays the extra costs therefor through taxes, services, and philanthropy. Even from a financial point of view, it would be more economical to subsidize an adequate housing program for all lower income groups irrespective of race or nationality, whose economic status is similar to that of thousands of Negroes. However, such a program is only the second best thing to promote. It is more democratic to enable every group to earn enough money to purchase decent housing.

12. HOW CAN DECENT HOUSING BE PROVIDED FOR LOWEST INCOME GROUPS?

Since slums are excessively expensive to tax-payers in that their inhabitants consume a disproportionately large part of the funds and services of charitable agencies, and moreover, since slum dwellings cannot yield their respective landlords profitable financial returns honestly, one may ask: how can decent housing be provided for persons whose income level is that of WPA workers, recipients of the various types

of relief given by the Department of Public Assistance, and other types of sub-marginal incomes?

Mr. Wilson S. Berland of the Pittsburgh Housing Association replies to this question as follows: (1)

"* * * I do not believe that it is possible for private capital to provide for the lowest income except in rare cases of rehabilitated property and even then the family will have to pay a too-great share of income for rent.

"The large public low-rent projects in Pittsburgh, which provide good if simplified accommodations, were built most economically, their construction cost being below that for private construction of equivalent accommodations. Nevertheless, the rents actually paid average about 50 percent of the economic rent and therefore considerably less than 50 percent of the commercial rental level. And it must be remembered that these rents are scaled to the tenant's income.

"In a study completed early in 1941 by Allegheny County Board of Assistance, in cooperation with the Housing Association, it was found that relief families paid from 57 percent to 168 percent more than their shelter allowance (maximum of \$9.75), thereby encroaching greatly on the amounts intended for food, milk, and clothing."

Mr. Sydney Malsen, Chairman of the National Committee of Housing Associations, has prepared an Exhibit for the Commission on this question. (2) He states:

"Under conditions which prevailed in the building industry before and during the war, it has not been profitable for private enterprise to build dwellings which meet minimum requirements for health, safety, sanitation,

(1) Exhibit No. 1

(2) Exhibit No. 3

convenience and comfort, and rent these within the means of the majority of wage earners.

"Recipients of relief, WPA workers and persons of similar income usually can be provided with healthful housing only by a subsidized public housing program. This, however, does not rule out the possibility of including this group in dwellings operated by semi-philanthropic housing enterprises which are operated as housing societies."

Mr. Boris Shishkin, Secretary of the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, has prepared the following statement to the above question:

"The field of housing has usually been divided into three divisions based upon income and the costs of construction, the upper, the middle, and the lower income thirds. The upper two-thirds of the economic scale where income is above \$1,500 per year, are considered to be within the area in which private enterprise can provide decent housing on a varying scale. (1)

"It is assumed that the question refers to that segment of the lowest income group which is below \$1,000 since relief clients and WPA workers would rarely have incomes exceeding that figure. This estimate is based on information received from the Works Projects Administration to the effect that the salaries paid workers in Wage Region I, embracing the states of New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania, range from \$40.80 for unskilled workers to \$91.20 for professional and technical workers. (2) In the case of relief clients, the average grants for the several categories are much lower. They range from \$22.07 for Old Age Assistance in New Jersey to \$48.59 for Aid to Dependent Children in New York. (3) With the exception

- (1) Wood, Edith Elmer, Introduction to Housing Facts and Principles, United States Housing Authority (Reprint May, 1940)
- (2) Statement from WPA Informational Division
- (3) Statement from Social Security Board, Department of Research and Statistics.

of professional and technical workers on the Works Projects Administration, the incomes are below the \$1,000 level.

"A number of variable factors such as high land cost, high interest rates, the peculiar organization of the building construction industry, burdensome local taxes, and land speculation, contribute to the inability of private industry to provide housing for the low-income group. (1)

"This does not mean, however, that private capital cannot be utilized to provide decent housing for this income group. In the operation of the United States Housing Authority, private capital participated indirectly in financing the low rent housing program. However, the public housing program reached the lowest income group only through the use of Federal subsidies. It may be assumed that private capital directly invested for profit in the housing industry cannot provide housing for families with incomes under \$1,000, comprising the income group to which this question refers!"

Mr. Richard W. McCaskoy states:

"Private capital can not provide adequate low cost housing on any normal investment basis. Such housing must be subsidized in some way to be effective." **

Now that authorities agree that some form of subsidy is necessary in order to provide decent housing for low income groups, approximately what is the lowest income group for which it has been possible to provide decent housing? Mr. Borland states:

"(1) Senior, Clarence, Facing the Housing Problem, Milwaukee Housing Council, February, 1933, pp. 18, 19."

"In public low-rent housing (subsidized), the relief level income group can be housed. However, to make it at all feasible, not more than 20 to 25 percent of the units can be rented at that level. It would, therefore, take many more such projects than we now have. In rehabilitated housing, if publicly sponsored and operated, a higher percentage of relief recipients could be housed.

"Of the few examples we know of privately 'rehabilitated' dwellings, an income level of, say, \$1200 a year could be reached (assuming 25 percent of income for rent). Of now, standard, privately constructed housing, I do not see how an income group lower than \$1500-1700 could be provided for." (1)

Mr. Shishkin writes:

"It is apparent that the soundest approach to answering this question is to indicate the lowest income group for which decent housing has been provided, to date, to any measurable or significant extent. It follows that this would be the income group served by the public housing program established under the United States Housing Act of 1937 and carried out by the United States Housing Authority, now administered as the Federal Public Housing Authority.

"A review of incomes of families residing in FPHA-aided projects in the Middle Atlantic States indicates that a small number of families with incomes of \$400 or slightly less has been rehoused. Specifically in Region III, embracing the states of Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia, and Kentucky, less than 2 percent of the families rehoused had incomes of \$400 or less; 6.5 percent had incomes under \$500; and 17 percent had incomes under \$600. In Region II, consisting of the states of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, a similar experience prevails except that practically no families with incomes of \$400 or less were rehoused.

"The fundamental principle to be realized from this experience is the inability of the present subsidized public housing program to house those families on the very lowest economic level with incomes of less than \$350 or \$400 per year. Hence, families with incomes of less than \$600 have been most successfully included only when a system of graded rents has been used permitting an income range within a given project up to the \$1,200 to \$1,400 income bracket so that the average falls at about \$750 or \$800.

"It follows, therefore, that although a few families with incomes as low as \$400 can be provided with decent housing, this can be achieved only as a part of a program which also houses higher income families within the total 'lowest income group,' the range of which extends upward approximately to \$1,200 or \$1,400 per year."

After consultation with numerous authorities, it seems evident that some form of subsidy is necessary in order to provide decent housing for persons on the lowest income level. Numerous nation wide studies indicate that from 30 to 35% of the total population under pre-war and present economic conditions, are not able to pay for decent housing. Some form of subsidy is necessary. However, this subsidy may be either or both public and private. The task of re-housing is such a tremendous one that all types of cooperation may be necessary in order to do the job. The following statement of Mr. Maslen, relative to New York City, is typical of the nation as a whole:

"Few, if any, communities since the industrial revolution and feudal times have had no deficit of unmet housing needs. New York City, for example, which in May 1941 had authorizations for the expenditure of \$190,000,000 from Federal, State and City loans and subsidies for public housing, could have housed upon completion of this five-year program 130,000 persons. This represents 33,000 families or approximately 7% of the 500,000 families living in the so-called old law tenements and which it was the City's objective to clear. It is evident, therefore, that the housing program in any community does not end with a program of public housing construction and slum clearance, important as that is, but rather begins with it." (1)

Private housing associations with a philanthropic motive can render a very useful and necessary service. One of the best of such organizations is the Octavia Hill Association of Philadelphia. Having been incorporated in 1896, the Association aims "to improve the living conditions in the poorer residence districts of Philadelphia."

As of July 7, 1942, it owned and managed 480 properties in which are housed 715 families - approximately 50% of whom were Negroes. The "average" rental paid was below \$25.00 per month. Many of the 480 properties were given to the Association; others were sold to the Association far below their market value. Profits and salaries are kept at a safe minimum.

In a letter addressed to the Commission July 7, 1942, Mr. McCaskey stated:

(1)

An address delivered on May 5, 1942 at the Canadian Conference of Social Work, Montreal, Canada.

"The Association is philanthropic to the extent of endeavoring to provide the necessities of decent housing, putting this element ahead of profits. It tries to maintain decent standards of housing consistent with sound business management.

"Tenants are told of their responsibilities--that is, rent must be paid promptly; property must be left clean and not abused; they are encouraged where possible to plant gardens and are often supplied with paint to do their own decorating; they are not allowed to overcrowd. Our rent collectors (all women) are frequently asked for opinions on family matters, helping to get jobs, etc., which they are glad to do.

"In return, repairs needed to plumbing, heating, roofing, etc., are promptly done and every consideration given to temporary failure to pay rent due to unavoidable causes."

It is hoped that more of these associations can be developed. They perform a very definite and unique function. First, they develop a public sentiment for housing needs. Second, they provide the most experienced and economic methods of providing low-cost housing. Perhaps related to the housing associations of the type described above is the limited dividend housing plan for family incomes around \$1,500 per year. This type of organization operates as any other real estate business but merely limits its profits to certain minimum returns such as four or five percent. These corporations, too, can do much toward the improvement of housing problems. Next, private capital can cooperate directly with tax-supported housing programs. In the long run, a modification of these and other types of participation of private interests in re-housing will be more beneficial

than a housing program supported entirely by public funds. In the main, however, unless many changes take place, a tax-aided or tax-supported housing program will be necessary to re-house the lowest income groups, irrespective of race.

13. DURING THE WAR, HOW MAY NEGRO HOUSING PROBLEMS BE MINIMIZED?

The above considerations pertain considerably to post-war efforts. What can be done to reduce or prevent the increase of sub-standard housing among all persons whose socio-economic condition is similar to that of most Negroes? In general, five lines of related action are possible. First, although non-defense housing is practically impossible, sufficient repairs can be made to keep dwellings which are now satisfactory in a good state of repair. Local, county, State and federal officials should emphasize the fact that all dwellings must meet the requirements of the various housing codes. No housing code must be considered satisfactory unless it provides an adequate abatement fund whereby a city or county government can make necessary repairs in instances where owners are unwilling or unable to do so. Second, wherever it is possible to rehabilitate dwellings or to convert other buildings into dwelling units such should be done. Such a program provides both a means of rendering dwellings habitable and also of increasing the number of dwelling units available. In all such cases, it is taken for granted that rentals will be fair. Third, dwellings which cannot be repaired profitably should be demolished.

In case of bombing, these structures are a great hazard in that they spread conflagration at a much greater rate than dwellings which are in a good state of repair. Fourth, although there is an inadequacy of defense housing for all citizens, with the exception of Pittsburgh, Negroes have not received their proper share of defense housing. In most instances, this neglect has not occurred without the knowledge of housing authorities, for interracial committees throughout the State have brought these matters to the attention of the proper responsible officials. Needless to say, such undemocratic practices are contrary to the very principles for which the war is being fought. Fifth, the amount and variety of public and private facilities and services should be greatly increased.

Mrs. Hannah N. Bernheimer, Executive Secretary of the Tenants and Homeowners Security League of Philadelphia, in an exhibit especially prepared for the Commission states:

"There are a number of constructive suggestions which may be made in answer to this question but, today, they have to be considered in the light of a nation at war.

"Efforts which might have been made a year ago to change sub-standard housing conditions either cannot be effected today or will need redoubled effort. Undoubtedly, sub-standard housing is responsible to some degree for the shortage of available man-power. The socio-economic conditions controlling those who are forced to live in this way are responsible for unhealthy citizens lacking in proper morale. Hospitals and jails testify to this as do increased cost in police and fire protection which result from such neighborhood pattern existence.

"To implement any program today which would obliterate these conditions would mean that the best forces of the community would have to join in the efforts.

"But that these efforts should be made if we are to prosecute this war to a speedy victory goes without saying. The health and morale of our citizens are all-important. Neither good citizens nor good fighters come out of sub-standard housing.

"Therefore, we the Tenants League, of Philadelphia, do hereby suggest the following program for our city. This general outline could be used for any community where similar housing conditions exist.

- "A. Registration and classification of all dwelling units, individual or multiple to insure compliance at least with legal standards.
1. Inspection on a semi-yearly basis.
 2. Certificates to be issued for certain fixed nominal charge after inspection shows that unit complies with Housing Code of 1915.
- "B. An Abatement Fund of \$250,000 to be allocated by City Council to implement above and which would be subsequently recoverable.
1. Certificates and repayments from liens on properties would render this a revolving fund.
 2. Section 49 of Housing Code could be enforced.
 3. Legislation to compel providing of adequate heating facilities for all dwelling units. (This already exists in most states to minimize fire hazards.)

"C. The coordination of city departments of Building Inspection, Department of Public Health and the Fire Department. All officers and personnel and inspectors to be under Civil Service to insure a competent personnel.

"D. Federal cooperation in order to obtain necessary funds and priorities for vital rehabilitation and in order to implement above Section 49 of Housing Code.

"E. The formation through State and Federal cooperation of landlord cooperatives in order to change localities where the neighborhood pattern shows a majority of sub-standard units.

(Note) Landlord cooperatives brought into force through proper legislation have been very successful in England, Sweden and Holland.

"F. Citizens' Committees composed predominantly of tenants themselves to extend neighborhood patterns in low income areas where the vacancy rate has practically disappeared.

1. To break down discrimination against Negro families who are forced to move.
2. To cooperate with the Fair Rent Committee to see that rents are not raised." (1)

Mr. Borland states:

"For the duration we must think in terms of making the best possible use of what we have. We must enforce standards and, therefore, repair. Even now landlords who know their rents will be generally frozen are trying to evade responsibility by not making repairs on the excuse that materials are not available, etc. This, of course, is erroneous. Materials are available for maintenance and repair, and the fight for standards must be continued. This must be done by pressure on enforcement authorities from citizens groups, social agencies, tenants' leagues, etc. There is good possibility that assistance in the struggle may come from two federal sources: (1) the Homes Utilization Agency, a new section of the National Housing Agency and now in the state of formation; (2) the Rent Control program, under whose regulations existing services (that is, standard maintenance work) may not be diminished even though rents are frozen."*

HEALTH

14. SIGNIFICANT VITAL STATISTICS

In 1910, the Negro death rate in the United States per 1,000 population for all causes was 23.6; it was 24.0 for Negroes in Pennsylvania. In 1920, the Negro national death rate per 1,000 population was 18.7; it was 21.3 for Negroes in Pennsylvania. In 1930, the national Negro death rate per 1,000 population was 16.5 whereas the rate for Pennsylvania Negroes was 17.3. In 1940, the national Negro death rate was 13.3 whereas that for Pennsylvania Negroes was 15.1. Although there has been a remarkable reduction in the death rate of Pennsylvania Negroes from decade to decade, it is evident that Pennsylvania Negroes have maintained a death rate which is higher than that of Negroes throughout the nation.

Moreover, when the death rates of Pennsylvania Negroes are compared with similar rates for the white population, there is practically no improvement until 1940. For example, in 1910, the death rate per 1,000 Negro population was 24.0, whereas it was only 15.4 for whites. Thus, the Negro death rate was 1.55 times that of the whites. In 1920, the death rate for Negroes was 21.3 per 1,000 population and only 13.6 for whites. In this year, the Negro death rate was 1.56 times that of the white population. In 1930, the death rate per 1,000 population for Negroes and whites respectively was 17.3 and 11.3. Thus, the Negro death rate was 1.53 times that of the whites. Restating the matter more directly and in

absolute terms: in 1930, (exclusive of still-births) there were 7,511 colored deaths in Pennsylvania. This represented approximately 1.74 of the total colored population. In that same year (exclusive of still-births) there were 104,095 white deaths which number was approximately 1.13 of the total population. Thus, the Negro death rate, by this approximate check, was 1.53 times that of the whites. However, in 1940, whereas the death rate for Pennsylvania Negroes was 15.1, it was 11.1 for whites. Hence, in 1940, the Negro death rate was only 1.36 times that of whites; the improvement is encouraging.

During the five years from 1927 to 1931 inclusive, the mean Negro birth rate in Pennsylvania (exclusive of still-births) per 1,000 population was 22.6; the corresponding figure for whites was 20.1. Thus, during the five-year period, the mean Negro birth rate was 2.5 per 1,000 population more than that of whites. However, the Negro death rate (exclusive of still-births) per 1,000 population was 18.3. Whereas the corresponding figure for whites was only 11.6. The difference of 6.7 minimizes the higher birth rate of the Negro population in that whereas the Negro birth rate was only 1.1 times that of whites, the Negro death rate was 1.5 times that of whites. In comparison with Negroes, this gives whites an advantage of excess of births over deaths at a rate of 1.3 times that of Negroes. Viewing these facts from another angle, in 1930, the Negro births per 100 deaths was 127 whereas that of whites was 173. Thus, in comparison

with Negroes, whites had an advantage of births over deaths of 1.3 which checks reasonably with the first estimate.

Migration, per se, is a rather complex factor in that it increases both the total deaths and the total live population in a somewhat unpredictable manner. This is especially true of southern Negro migration to Pennsylvania. Nevertheless, were it not for southern migration to the State, the Negro population of the State would decline. Why are morbidity and mortality rates higher among Negroes than among whites? Are such differences purely racial? The answers to these questions are largely to be sought in the sum total of those factors which underlie the socio-economic environmental background of the Negro. Various types of racial discrimination, the lack of medical facilities and services, the extremely low income of the typical Negro family, excessive industrial hazards, superstition, ignorance of health habits, poor personal hygiene, nutritional deficiencies, sub-standard housing: inadequate sanitary facilities, poor ventilation, poor lighting, overcrowding, and poor screening account for the vast discrepancies between Negro and white morbidity and mortality rates.

15. ADEQUACY OF MEDICAL AND HEALTH FACILITIES AND SERVICES

Much of the staff's study has been directed toward the adequacy or inadequacy of medical and health facilities and services for Negroes. The three Negro-staffed hospitals in Pennsylvania and the several Negro-operated state clinics can

provide hospital and clinic services for only a small part of the Negro population. It is evident then, that the adequacy of medical and health facilities and services involves a study of these facilities and services as they pertain to all citizens of the State. Howbeit, the adequacy of medical facilities and services cannot be judged completely by the number of hospital beds per 10,000 population, the distribution of general and special hospitals, the number and distribution of general and special clinics, the amount of modernity of equipment, the adequacy of medical supplies, the number of persons served, the number of full or part-time persons in the various branches of the medical profession, whether in private or public practice - nor any other quantitative set of standards. While these factors are important, they alone are insufficient. Such factors as (1) the availability and use of all medical and health facilities and services by all persons irrespective of race, place of birth, or religion, (2) the availability of private medical and health facilities and services to the various income groups and the degree to which the various income groups are able to pay for these and related facilities and services, (3) the availability of and the use made of public medical and health facilities and services, (4) working conditions with respect to health, safety, and sanitation, (5) housing conditions, (6) the degree to which hygienic habits are practiced, (7) the degree to which there is a lack of confidence in, antipathy to, or apathy toward established medical

and health facilities and services; and (8) the degree to which self-medication is practiced and "quack doctors" are patronized. For empirical reasons, we shall treat the first three factors as a group; factors four and five will be treated as a group; and likewise, factors six, seven and eight will be treated as being more or less related.

16. GENERAL HOSPITALS AND CLINICS

Negroes are admitted as in-patients in at least 93% of the general hospitals within the State. Those which exclude Negroes are either very small or are operated for the benefit of some specific private organization in which Negroes cannot become members.

A sample of eighty-one general hospitals showed that of 192,367 in-patients, Negroes were 9,166 or 4.76% of the total number. These eighty-one hospitals rendered 2,189,497 "days of care"; of which Negro in-patients received 102,946 or 4.70% of the total number of "days of care" rendered. These hospitals covered the entire State. There were thirty-four hospitals which either did not keep records of the race of their in-patients or which had less than three Negro in-patients during an entire fiscal year. Thus, for practical purposes, there were only forty-seven of the eighty-one hospitals which kept racial records of their services. An analysis of these hospital statistics show that 9,166 or 8.08% of the 113,389 in-patients in these forty-seven hospitals were Negroes. Likewise, Negroes received 102,946

or 7.68% of the total 1,339,618 "days of care" rendered. It would seem that this sample is fairly representative. Taking the State as a whole, there are numerous areas in which there are no Negroes or in which there are very few of them. In other areas where there are many Negroes, the Negro hospital load is very high. Should we study the in-patient statistics of Coatesville, Chester, the metropolitan areas of Harrisburg, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, it will be evident that Negro in-patients are approximately two and one-half times their ratio in the total population of these combined areas. Thus, on the basis of the mean annual number of times the typical citizen becomes an in-patient and the statistics of the above eighty-one hospitals, it is safe to say that Negroes become in-patients in general hospitals in numbers which are approximately twice their proportion in the total population.

Nevertheless, this is not the true picture of Negro in-patient services. If we add the three Negro staffed hospitals to the above eighty-one hospitals, then the total Negro in-patient service will be more than two and one-half times their ratio in the State's total population. Hospital officials were asked how many Negro and white in-patients respectively (a) paid in part, (b) paid in full, and (c) how many were free. A sample of thirty-one hospitals indicates that 10.34% of the in-patients who paid in part were Negroes. However, only .09% of the Negro in-patients paid in full and 16.96% of them were free. It is very obvious

that Negro in-patients pay a very small part of the cost of their medical care. Howbeit, a study of individual hospital records reveals that in those hospitals whose patients consist largely of Negroes and whites of a very low economic status, there is relatively little difference between the two racial groups in the amounts paid for medical services.

From visits, talks with Negroes who reside in the neighborhoods in which certain hospitals are located, interviews with Negro physicians, nurses, and other persons of both races who are competent to judge, it was disclosed that many hospitals, through various means, seem "to manage" to have only a limited number of beds available for Negroes. Upon visits to certain hospitals it was discovered that they preferred not to admit Negroes as private patients. An alarmingly large number of tax-aided hospitals have been reported as not admitting Negroes to private rooms. Your staff has been unable to investigate all of these instances. However, the cooperative staff has visited seventy-eight hospitals located in the following municipalities: Chester, Coatesville, Harrisburg and Steelton, Lancaster, Norristown, the metropolitan areas of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Scranton, West Chester, and Wilkes-Barre. Interviews with responsible representatives in each of these hospitals disclosed some rather interesting practices. It is encouraging to note that there were at least twenty-four such hospitals whose officials stated that they did admit Negroes to private rooms without any restrictions and the field workers were

satisfied from observation and official records that the representatives were truthful. Sixteen hospital officials stated that while they did admit Negroes to private rooms, they preferred not to do so and that they limited the number of private rooms available for Negroes. From investigations, it would appear that the informants were correct. However, officials of twenty hospitals indicated that they did not deny Negroes the use of private rooms but observations and hospital records seem to indicate, that for practical purposes, these hospitals may be classed as not admitting Negroes to private rooms. The remaining eighteen hospitals had little or no proof that they did admit Negroes to private rooms. Some were frank enough to be specific and say that it was a policy not to do so; others indicated exclusion by indirection.

All of these institutions referred to are tax-free; many of them are tax-aided. While it is true that as compared with other citizens, only a few Negroes are able to pay for private rooms, it is obviously poor business policy to refuse these services to those Negroes who are able to pay for them. In 1937, a survey of forty-five hospitals in the metropolitan area of Philadelphia showed that only 60.3% of the private, 64.6% of the semi-private, and 78.8% of the ward beds were occupied. Thus, while there was more demand for ward beds, Negroes who were able to pay for private rooms were often denied them. Waste and prejudice often accompany each other. Although the uneconomic aspects of

the matter are of serious concern to tax-payers, no amount of money can repay the damage done to democracy and Christianity by such practices. Negroes can obtain semi-private rooms with much more ease. Their general lack of funds with which to pay for these services seems to be their most general limitation in this regard.

17. TYPES OF WARD DISCRIMINATION

Various types of ward segregation are all too prevalent in our hospitals. In Philadelphia, of twenty-eight hospitals from which the staff was able to obtain definite information with regard to ward treatment, it was found that only sixteen of them stated positively that Negroes were admitted to wards without any type of discrimination. However, of these sixteen hospitals, the field workers observed that in three instances the Negro patients were grouped together. Thus, the information of these three officials did not check with the observation of the field workers. Of the other thirteen, the following statements from hospital officials checked with the observation of staff workers: "Whoever needs the bed gets it", "Beds are filled as they become vacant", "They are placed wherever there is a bed", "There is no segregation". "There is occasional complaint about Negroes in maternity wards but the hospital so far has ignored it and intends to ignore it". "Yes, there is no complaint", "Yes, and it works well". These and similar statements and actions are to be commended. They and they alone can commend themselves to the citizens of the State.

The remaining twelve hospitals are given to undemocratic practices. Here are some of the statements made to the field workers: "We try to segregate them, especially maternity." "Feel it is better to place them in separate wards." "This policy was adopted about three years ago". "There is no separation in the children's wards." "In all wards, except perhaps maternity there is no separate placement by race. It is thought that patients are more congenial if put together." "They have their own rooms." "The wards are only small cubicles." "They have more fun together." "In isolation they have separate rooms". "There is no special provision for Negroes but they are usually grouped together because they feel more comfortable." "Maternity wards are separate, all seem happier that way. All other, however, are together and placed as they come." "Men are but women aren't". "Yes and no". "Where we can, we make special provision for them because they seem happier." "Not as a rule. It depends on how full the institution is."

All of these institutions are tax-free; some of them are tax-aided. One of them is owned and operated by one of the world's largest Christian denominations. Another was founded on protest. This institution was founded because, at the time of its establishment, the existing medical schools and hospitals either excluded women as medical students and staff members of hospitals or admitted them in very limited numbers. While all hospitals involved should cease such undemocratic practices, these two institutions are astonishing; they

deny the very principles upon which they were founded and are being maintained. These paradoxes make it impossible for most Negroes to get the true meaning of Christianity and democracy. The above two types of democratic and undemocratic policies and practices characterize the State as a whole. The success of these hospitals which try to do the Godly and democratic thing should encourage other institutions to establish sound policies and practices.

There can be no doubt that many persons in authority really believe that Negroes are "happier together." Others have every reason to know that Negroes positively resent segregation in all of its forms. No sane Negro prefers segregation. Many accept it rather than be embarrassed or punished for resisting it; others prefer it rather than be denied completely certain essential services; still others accept it, apparently, without protest because they, unfortunately and most incorrectly, feel that race prejudice is inborn and cannot be overcome. It may be well for many citizens to realize that more and more Negroes all over the State and nation are increasingly objecting to any type of forced segregation. The truth is that the key to this situation lies in management. In each case where there is intelligent and democratic management, fewer problems will arise than will occur from restrictions and exclusions. From all angles, non-segregation is the only practical solution to the problems herein considered.

18. DISCRIMINATION IN THE USE OF PATIENTS FOR TEACHING PURPOSES

Throughout the State there seems to be much evidence that proportionately Negroes are used as "guinea pigs" more than are white patients. The evidence seems clear in regard to the relative frequency with which patients of the two races are treated by the more inexperienced members of the medical profession. Several Negroes have reported to the staff that they were "practiced on" by internes, student nurses, and others. However, in the cases of experimentation and demonstration, experts are in charge which often makes it difficult to prove that patients are being "practiced on."

The staff checked upon a number of these reports and found evidence to support the complaint. Since this evidence refers to the period preceding our entrance into the War, it would seem that the practice indicates a type of discrimination. The Executive Director was able to obtain, free of cost, the services of four competent ladies to check upon the observations of the staff in the Philadelphia area in this regard. Twenty-eight hospitals having the largest number of Negro patients were visited. On the whole, their report confirms the report of the staff. Nevertheless, these ladies point out that irrespective of race, ward and free or part-pay clinic patients contribute more "guinea pigs" than other patients. Largely because of economic status, proportionately, there are more Negro ward and free or "part-pay" clinic patients than white.

Moreover, the representatives of some of the "teaching hospitals" indicate that something of the demonstration, experimental, or teaching idea is expected in the case of free and part-pay patients. Even so, the students in question are supposed to be under the very careful supervision of experienced persons. Despite all of these considerations, the evidence seems to indicate that a higher percentage of Negroes are used for experimental, demonstration, and teaching purposes than are whites.

19. SEPARATE HOURS OR DAYS FOR TREATMENT

Negro patients are aware of the fact that some hospitals practice discrimination either in the time of, place of, or in the order of treatment of patients by race. However, this is not the case in the majority of the one hundred and fifteen hospitals throughout the State observed with reference to this point. Only twenty-six or 22.6% of them admitted some form of discrimination as to time, place, or order of treatment. In Philadelphia, six of the thirty hospital representatives interviewed admitted that whites and Negroes had different times for treatment. In four instances, staff workers found separate rooms or spaces for treatment and also separate hours for treatment.

The following six statements are significant: (These are replies to the question:

"Are Negroes treated at the same time as persons of other racial groups in clinical services which are available?")

1. Has nutritional classes held separately by race as the problems of Negroes and foreign-born are different. Also maternity classes are separate.
2. Holds well-baby clinic separately for whites and colored because the number attending is so large that some division has to be made. This is the only separate clinic.
3. Teutic clinic is held on separate days for colored and white which runs about 100 for each clinic or maybe a few less in the white. Says they had trouble -- both groups are sensitive to their conditions.
4. Pre-natal clinics are held separately.
5. Some clinics are run separately. Syphilis is held separately for colored men and colored women; white men and white women. The volume makes some division necessary and this seemed a natural one. There is also a separate pediatric clinic as space is limited and division is necessary.
6. In pre-natal clinic, the colored patients come on Saturdays only, but there are some white patients also. There are other days when there are only white patients.

Aside from separate days or separate hours, another form of discrimination is often practiced; Negroes are not taken in their turn but are grouped together. This seems to be the form of discrimination most characteristic of those communities in which there are only a relatively few Negroes. Although, as has been pointed out above, this is not true of the majority of hospitals; taking all forms of discrimination with reference to time, place, or order of treatment, only 22.6% of the hospital representatives admitted separate times or order of treatment. It is to be hoped that these officials

can be persuaded to change their policies.

With regard to the informants, all of whom were high ranking hospital officials in their respective hospitals, the field workers found that while the 22.6% did discriminate as they had said, observation showed that at least twenty-seven of the hospitals which reported non-discrimination were found by actual observation to practice discrimination in this regard. In each case, more than one field worker checked the fact of segregation; all of them agreed that in practice the informants' statements were not in accord with the facts. In ten cases, it would seem that the respective hospital informants did not know of the discrimination but minor officials seemed responsible therefor. In the case of the other five, all evidence would tend to indicate that hospital officials deliberately gave our informants incorrect information. The necessity for constant checking upon is obvious.

20. SPECIAL HEALTH AND MEDICAL FACILITIES AND SERVICES

A. Tuberculosis

It may be observed from Table XII that during the past decade the Negro tuberculosis mortality rate has ranged from four to five times that of white citizens. Miss Elizabeth H. Pitney, Research Secretary of the Philadelphia Tuberculosis and Health Association, has prepared a special exhibit for the Commission relative to the Philadelphia Negro; a portion of which reads:

"Enclosed is a table which summarizes the activities of the twenty-seven chest clinics

forming the Philadelphia Association of Tuberculosis Clinics. The figures have been made available through the courtesy of Miss Gertrude K. Langton, Executive Secretary of the Association. While representing the bulk of the diagnostic work which is done in the city, they do not, of course, include an undetermined amount of work carried on by private physicians, schools, universities and professional schools, maternal and child hygiene clinics and other agencies, nor the results of the Army's case-finding program at induction centers. Despite these limitations it would seem that the clinic figures afford the best available index of the distribution by color of the measures which are being taken for the diagnosis and control of tuberculosis. For the sake of simplicity the data have been classified in two categories, white and non-white. The figures for the non-white population may be taken as almost identical with those for Negroes, since Negroes constitute 99.3 percent of Philadelphia's non-white population.

"On this basis it might be expected that 45 percent of the new cases diagnosed would be found among Negroes. Such is not the case only 34 percent of the cases first diagnosed in the clinics during 1941 occurred among Negroes. It has been observed in other urban centers that the ratio of new cases to deaths tends to be lower in the Negro than in the white population. * * * It must also be assumed that case finding methods are less successful with the Negro than with the white population in discovering tuberculosis before it has progressed to a fatal conclusion.

"Since Negroes constitute 41 percent of the patients under clinic care, it would be expected that 41 percent of the clinic facilities would be devoted to their care. As a matter of fact they did receive in 1941, 39 percent of the sputum examinations, 37 percent of the X-ray procedures and 60 percent of the tuberculin tests.

"In the matter of hospitalization it will be noted that 31 percent of the clinic patients having tuberculosis were Negroes and that precisely the same proportion were admitted to hospitals, sanatoria and other institutions for the treatment of tuberculosis. The second table

which is enclosed gives a more complete picture of the hospitalization of tuberculosis patients from Philadelphia.

"The figures would suggest that while clinic facilities, as adequate as for white patients, are available for the Negroes who present themselves for diagnosis and treatment, the control program is relatively defective in respect to case-finding among Negroes. This is not only an administrative problem but one which is closely related to the social and economic problems of Negroes in Philadelphia." (1)

Dr. C. R. Reynolds, Director of the Bureau of Tuberculosis Control, State Department of Health, was kind enough to prepare a special exhibit for the Commission on Tuberculosis. He stated that during the year of 1941, 4,719 persons were treated for tuberculosis and that 601 or 12.7% of these patients were Negroes. In 1940, the Negro population was 4.7% of the State. Hence, Negro in-patients were cared for at a rate of 2.7 times their ratio in the total population. Negroes are not admitted to all of the private and tax-aided tuberculosis sanatoria of the State. However, Negroes are 9.4% of the total patients in these sanatoria which admit both races. This is twice their proportion in the total population. Moreover, considering the relatively small amount of money which Negroes are able to pay for these services, one can hardly expect more in terms of volume from private and semi-private sanatoria.

(1) See Exhibit No. 5

It is hoped that those which exclude Negroes will find it possible to admit them in the near future.

Howbeit, there is still a great inadequacy since Negro tuberculosis mortality rates are nearly five times that of whites. With reference to this inadequacy, Dr. Reynolds states the case rather accurately as follows:

"Based on the proportion of Negroes in the total population of Pennsylvania there is no relative inadequacy of tuberculosis facilities and services for Negroes. The records for 1941 show that the Negro population was approximately 4.7 per cent of the entire population of Pennsylvania while the number of Negroes in the three State Tuberculosis Sanatoria was approximately 12.7 per cent.

"Based on the mortality rates for tuberculosis among whites and colored there is still a relative inadequacy for the treatment of Negroes in the tuberculosis sanatoria.

"The State Sanatoria, the State Tuberculosis Clinic, and the State Pneumothorax Center facilities are available to all persons eligible for diagnosis and treatment because of inability to meet the costs without regard to race or any other distinction except as to aliens." (1)

The Bureau of Tuberculosis control of the State Department of Health operates several clinics throughout the State; two of these clinics, one each in Chester and Harrisburg, are operated by Negro staffs. However, Negroes may attend any State operated clinic. In 1941, there were 27,679 persons treated in State operated tuberculosis clinics; 2,551 or 9.2% of the patients were colored. In these clinics, the Tuberculin Skin Test was administered to 11,607 persons of whom 1,200 or 10.33% were Negroes. X-ray examinations were

given to 17,073 persons of whom 1,890 or 11.07% were Negroes. There were 3,038 active cases discovered; of this number 473 or 13.59% were Negroes. Clinics operated by semi-private and private institutions showed a much higher percentage. Over a period of the last three years, Negroes have constituted 14.7% of the total number of tuberculosis clinic patients.

From the above percentages, it is evident that Negroes have received treatment from State-operated clinics at a rate of more than twice their ratio in the total population; in private and semi-private clinics, they received treatment slightly more than three times their proportion in the total population. Nevertheless, as in the case of the State and private sanatoria, there is an inadequacy indicated. State-operated clinics should be prepared to do more for those Negroes who are unable to pay for these services. Staff field workers seem to indicate that while some complaints of Negro clinic patients seem justifiable, on the whole, State-operated clinics render efficient and courteous services. Likewise, they seem to be fairly well distributed so far as the Negro population is concerned. So far as your staff is able to determine, the major difficulty regarding State clinics is that their number needs to be increased. State officials would gladly render this service if the funds were available therefor. Some of the municipalities operate tuberculosis clinics. In all of them Negro patients number more than three times their proportion in the total population.

On the other hand, some difficulty is to be found in the fact that many Negroes are reluctant to have themselves examined for tuberculosis. Many of them are not sufficiently acquainted with the various symptoms of tuberculosis to have any indications that they should seek medical advice. There are others who dread the disease in such a manner as to be afraid to be treated therefor. The psychological attitude of many persons, irrespective of race, is rather similar on this point. Lay workers and other case finding techniques are needed. In general, the health center program seems to be the type of service which is most likely to succeed in this regard.

The removal of socio-economic discriminations and a program of health education are the fundamentals of a long range program designed to reduce the excessive tuberculosis mortality rates among Negroes. The following statement by Dr. Reynolds is very suggestive:

"The high prevalence of tuberculosis in the colored race is due largely to economic causes-- poor housing with overcrowding which favors the spread of the disease which is definitely reflected in the higher rates in urban populations; lack of environmental facilities for outdoor exercise and physical recreation; nutritional deficiency which predisposes to the disease by lowering resistance. The case fatality rate in young Negroes is higher than in the adults. This is believed by many to be due to an inherent lack of acquired immunity. However, the environmental factor which favors infection and spread also operate to prevent recovery.

"Tuberculosis control measures adapted to colored communities are challenged by the most important factor or difficulty in health

administration--lack of funds to promote education of these people as to the nature and prevention of this and other diseases and to carry on the social service required to improve the living conditions contributing to the spread of the disease. As adequate housing facilities, improvement in nutrition and other elements of good hygiene are long-time planning projects, the immediate demand is for more adequate hospital facilities to remove infective cases of tuberculosis from contact with the public." (1)

B. Venereal Diseases

According to a special report prepared for the staff by the Venereal Disease Division of the State Department of Health, under the direction of its chief, Dr. Edgar S. Everhart, from January 1, 1941 to June 30, 1941, there were 1,771 cases of venereal disease reported from (a) hospitals and clinics, (b) private physicians, and (c) penal institutions. Negro women constituted 59.7% of the total female cases; Negro men were 61.7% of the total male cases reported. Negroes as a group although only approximately 4.7% of the total population, supplied 60.9% of the total cases. In other words, Negroes contributed to venereal diseases in the State at a rate of 12.95 times their ratio in the total population.

On April 24, 1940, the Department of Health and Advisory Health Board of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania adopted the following rules and regulations:

"1. Anyone suffering with syphilis, the duration of whose infection is less than four years, or who presents open syphilitic lesions of the skin or mucous membrane shall be con-

sidered as potentially endangering the public health, and it shall be the duty of this person to receive proper treatment for this infection.

"2. Any physician who makes a diagnosis of syphilis as laid down in Paragraph 1 above shall make a report of such case direct to the Pennsylvania Department of Health, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, by number without name and address.

"3. It shall be the duty of the attending physician to report to the Pennsylvania Department of Health, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, the name and address of any person who fails to report for treatment within a period of two weeks after the time designated unless the attending physician has knowledge of good and sufficient reason for delay.

"4. It shall be the duty of the Pennsylvania Department of Health to provide the proper forms upon which such reports will be made." (1)

Thus, in addition to the work which the State had already been doing in the prevention and cure of venereal disease, these rules and regulations necessitated increased services and facilities. Numerous State operated clinics are operated for this purpose. Eight of these located in Chester, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh are entirely staffed by Negroes. From January 1, to June 30, 1941, there were 5,920 new cases of syphilis known to be either white or colored. Negroes contributed 62.39% of all these cases which means that they contributed to syphilis at a rate of more than thirteen times their proportion in the

(1)

See Exhibit No. 7

total population. They also contributed 30.75% of all the gonorrhea cases. (1)

From January 1, to December 31, 1941, the State Department of Health gave 12,290 premarital serologic tests. 316 of these were positive; 73 or 23.1% of the positive tests were colored. During this same period the department gave 7,303 pre-natal serologic tests; of this number 185 were known to be positive; Negroes contributed 11.89% of the total positive cases. From December, 1940 to December, 1941, the Department gave 78,872 serologic tests to selective service men. There were 1,368 known positive cases; (2) Negroes contributed 31.79% of them. From the beginning of the Selective Service program through April 15, 1941, there were 58,982 men examined for syphilis; 3,586 or 6.07% of these men were colored. Syphilis was detected in 1,470 men; 624 or 42.44% of them were colored. (3) Herein lies an urgent medical and social problem which must be attacked rather seriously.

C. Maternal and Child Health Centers

According to Dr. J. Yerushalmy, Director, Division of Statistical Research, United States Children's Bureau, in 1940 the Negro maternal mortality rate was nearly two and one-

(1) See Exhibit No. 7

(2) Idem.

(3) Idem.

half times that of white women.⁽¹⁾ Negro infant mortality was nearly twice that of whites.

Dr. Paul Dodds, Director of the Bureau of Maternal and Child Health, State Department of Health of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has prepared Table X for the Commission on Negro and white maternal death in Pennsylvania for the decade 1931-1940 inclusive.

TABLE X

"MATERNAL DEATH IN PENNSYLVANIA BY COLOR: 1931-1940, INCLUSIVE"⁽²⁾

	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	Total
Color:											
White	1,065	952	859	862	811	753	705	584	555	474	7,146
Colored	83	72	57	69	72	77	71	57	58	53	622"

It will be noted that of a total of 7,146 maternal deaths during the previous decade, 622 or 8.70% of them were Negroes. Generally speaking, there has been an absolute decrease in Negro maternal mortality rates in Pennsylvania. This decrease has not, however, kept pace with that of white women. Taking 4.6% as a mean annual percentage in the total population, the Negro maternal mortality rate was nearly twice that of white women in the State.

(1) "The 1940 Record of Maternal and Infant Mortality", Reprint from THE CHILD, Monthly Bulletin, Vol. 6, No. 8, February, 1942, U. S. Department of Labor, P. 196

(2) See Exhibit No. 8

In reviewing the situation, Dr. Dodds writes:

"In 1931 there were recorded 88 Negro maternal deaths while in 1940 there were only 53 Negro maternal deaths. During the same period, however, the white maternal deaths in the State have been reduced from 1,065 to 474. It is clear, then, that although the improvement in Negro maternal deaths has been outstanding it has not equaled the improvement found in white maternal deaths."

"I need not emphasize to your Commission the many enormous problems which confront any program for better health conditions for Negroes. To all of us the interdependence of health and education and financial status is self evident. Each of these is a great problem, but I think you will agree that in Pennsylvania, at least, we can expect the greatest health gains to follow the education of our people."

"The influence of our public schools in health conditions of Negro and large parts of the white population has been of the greatest value, but I think we are losing an opportunity by not reaching the adult Negro population directly through their churches first of all and their fraternal organizations."

"To make a health program for Negroes successful it is essential that the basis of the program be 'What can the Negroes do for themselves?' rather than, what can be done for the Negroes? With a proper educational program over a period of years Negroes will no doubt carry on a health program of their own." (1)

In realization of the fact that mothers need education as well as medical services in the bearing and rearing of children, the Commonwealth, with subsidy from the Federal government, operates over two hundred child health and pre-natal clinics in fourth class districts, (localities under 5,000 population). The aim of these centers has been defined by Dr. Dodds:

(1) Exhibit No. 8

"The purposes of child health centers and pre-natal clinics are two-fold; to educate parents in better methods of child care and maternity care; to provide continuous health supervision of the children of the community from birth to school age." (1)

In general, private child health and pre-natal clinics have followed this pattern. The Department is rendering good services. However, less than six per cent of the total Negro population is located in fourth-class districts. Hence, we must rely upon the various child health clinics in the larger urban centers for Negro maternal and child care. Schedules were sent to each child health center in the State, private and tax-aided. It was found that Negro mothers constitute only 6.1% of the total persons served. However, it is difficult to judge adequacy or inadequacy from such percentages because many hospitals render such services without any special or separate administrative organization set apart as maternal and child health centers. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that Negro women receive maternal care at a rate of more than twice their proportion in the total population.

Inasmuch as the views of hospital officials given in Section 25 below included pre-natal, post-natal, and infant care, space will permit us only to summarize these answers. Illegitimacy was mentioned most often as a problem. Complaints were made about the administration of the Aid to

(1) PENNSYLVANIA YEARBOOK, July, 1940, P. 9.

Dependent Children Programs and related problems. The major problem regarding Negro mothers center around their socio-economic conditions. Admitting many exceptions in both races, Negro mothers do not begin their pre-natal training as early as white women; having enrolled in a clinic they do not attend as regularly and do not follow suggestions as well as white women. In addition to these problems, but directly related to them, is the fact that Negro women do not have sufficient funds with which to pay for the special treatment and equipment which, so often, are necessary for successful delivery and infant care.

Dr. Dodds and his staff made a special study of the outstanding problems of Negro mothers. His statement prepared for the Commission is presented below:

"5. As compared with white mothers and pre-school children, some of the special handicaps of Negro mothers and pre-school children are:

- (a) Their financial status is often inferior.
- (b) They are often less perturbed by their financial status.
- (c) They are less apt to take their physical condition seriously; notoriously they laugh when they should be worried.
- (d) Often the reasons for preventive measures have not been explained to them.
- (e) They seek medical advice later in pregnancy than do white patients.
- (f) They are less apt to follow the physician's orders about when to get up, etc.
- (g) They are in great need of education along health lines.

(h) They seem to prefer white doctors and nurses to Negro doctors and nurses, even when the latter are available.

(i) The number of Negro doctors and nurses available in Pennsylvania is much too small.

"6. Suggested program for improvement of maternal care of Negroes:

1. Health education for Negro city dwellers:

- (a) Through clinics
- (b) Through churches
- (c) Through fraternal organizations
- (d) Public schools

2. Training larger numbers of Negro physicians and nurses." (1)

On the whole, the statement of Dr. Dodds seem to meet the experience of the field workers. However, the statement relative to the preference for white physicians and nurses is only partially true. In cases of illegitimacy, or extreme poverty, a complication of a social disease, or some condition or circumstance for which a Negro woman may have an occasion to be ashamed, there may readily be an occasion to prefer white physicians and nurses. The large number of Negro physicians in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh does not support the statement of general white preference. Moreover, in the other parts of the State where Negro physicians have a large number of white patients, their Negro patients are those who can afford to pay. The more unfortunate Negroes tend to seek free treatment or treatment at a lower rate than that of a private physician.

(1) Exhibit No. 8

The problems of illegitimacy and the disproportionately large number of recipients of aid to dependent children are not understood by the vast majority of hospital officials, medical social workers included. These problems will continue to exist in the Commonwealth and in the nation so long as the socio-economic status of the Negro remains as it is. Given equal job opportunities, there would be no need, proportionately, for aid to dependent children among Negroes than among whites. The aid is given only when there is economic dependency.

By virtue of the qualifications for certain types of employment, equal job opportunity would mean a higher educational standard among Negroes. While the mere possession of education is not identical with the practice of health habits or the successful application of health knowledge, there is every reason to believe that given more education and equal job opportunities, the same forces which now work to make Negro women disproportionately given to lack of cooperation, failure to follow suggestions, and illegitimacy, would then tend to reduce these problems to their status among white women. Irrespective of race, illegitimacy is not a problem among middle class people. The vast majority of Negroes in Pennsylvania are sub-marginal and marginal. In no way does your Commission desire to give undue weight to economic approaches to human problems; however, when economic problems are conditioned by race they become a major determining factor in the solution of social maladjust-

ment. In Pennsylvania, in the United States, and in all Western civilization, it is those who are economically and socially more insecure who have families larger than they can support and who tend to become unmarried mothers. This generalization obtains irrespective of race. Thus, Negroes in Pennsylvania are just human; unfortunately, they are not super-human.

D. Chronics

Due to many complex factors, the problem of chronic disease is one of increasing importance. National studies show that chronic diseases are increasing. In 1940, the Visiting Nurse Society of Philadelphia found that from 1930 to 1940 its volume of work with chronics had doubled. The National Institute of Health of the United States Public Health Service estimates that:

"More than one person in six in the United States have some form of chronic disease, orthopedic impairment, or serious defect of hearing or vision". (1)

The magnitude of the problem is not generally recognized because chronic diseases are associated with old age. This popular belief is considerably incorrect. Studies of the National Institute of Health have shown that 8% of the persons who suffer from chronic diseases are children, that one-third of them are adults between 25 and 44 years of age, that

(1) "National Health Survey", 1935-36, Preliminary Reports - Sickness and Medical Care Series, Bulletin No. 6, 1939, P. 12.

another third are between 45 and 64; only 16% of them are over 65 years of age.

In Pennsylvania, chronic illness is receiving some special study from the medical profession. In 1940, the Middle Atlantic District of the American Association of Medical Social Workers made a brief study of chronic illness involving twenty-four hospitals in the Philadelphia area. It was found that 811 or 27.8% of the 2,905 ward patients studied were chronics. It is interesting to note that 15% of these chronics were Negroes. In April, 1940 the Visiting Nurse Society of Philadelphia made a study of chronic illness in the homes visited by the agency. They found that chronic illness ranged between 11% and 12% of their total case load. In 1939 about one-fourth of their total visits were made to chronics. Of the 414 chronics, 32 or 7.7% were colored.

Because of professional and lay conception or misconception of chronic illness, it complicates many agencies, organizations, and institutions. Many hospital and clinic repeaters are chronics; chronics complicate the problem of convalescent care; many unemployables on relief are chronics; many of the inmates of homes for the aged and infirm are chronics. A person may have a chronic disease but the disease with reference to the given person may be either acute or chronic. Thus, a disease itself may be chronic, but, the patient may not be a chronic. Authorities classify chronics by many different types; the following classification seems to be fairly comprehensible: first, there are those who,

like the blind and deaf for which special provisions have long been made; second, there are those who must continually receive medical and nursing care; third, there are those whose disease has been arrested, or who may have been left permanently disabled, or who have a non-progressing chronic illness and who merely need custodial care; fourth, there are those who have a chronic disease but who are not themselves chronics; these people continue to be treated but still assume their regular responsibility. Although possibly not entirely adequate, the first class is provided for whereas the last three types, especially among Negroes are cases for serious consideration.

As has been pointed out, chronic illness is a rather complicated factor. However, it is even more complicated among Negroes. Unfortunately, there is no way of properly estimating the extent of chronic illness among Negroes. The two studies referred to above, while very valuable, do not afford a true picture of chronics or of chronic illness. First, there are professional complications which handicap one in determining the magnitude of the problem. Even given a definition of chronic illness, the interpretations thereof were not uniform in application. Second, State-aided hospitals are not supposed to treat the chronically ill. Nevertheless, on the whole, the State-aided hospitals of the Commonwealth are better equipped both quantitatively and qualitatively to serve such persons than are other agencies. The State law in this regards needs to be revised. Third,

facilities specifically designed to serve the chronically ill, except in the cases of the blind, deaf, etc., are woefully inadequate. For Negroes there is an even greater inadequacy. General clinics, no doubt, are getting their share of Negro chronics. Negro homes for incurables, the aged and infirm are woefully inadequate to fulfill their obligation in this regard. However, because of the lack of any regularity in theory and practice regarding chronics, many hospitals are treating certain types of chronics of both races.

Since (1) chronic illness is somewhat related to old age, (2) since both temporary and permanent unemployability involve certain types of chronic illness, and since, (3) old-age assistance is based upon old age and dependency, the Executive Director requested the Honorable Howard L. Russell, Secretary of the Department of Public Assistance, to prepare the following statement especially for the Commission:

		White	Negro
"Per cent of persons receiving assistance to total persons of each race in general population:	All Types	3.6	19.5
	Old-Age Assist.	1.0	2.0
	Aid to Dependent		
	Children	1.5	11.3
Per cent of persons receiving Old-Age Assistance to total population aged 65 and over	General Assist.	1.1	6.2
		14.1	49.5
Per cent of General Assistance cases containing one or more employable persons to total General Assistance cases		44.9	38.2
Average number of years' education of adult assistance recipients		5.8	5.6
Per cent of adult assistance recipients rated as competitively employable:	All Types	14.9	20.4
	Old-Age Assist.	3.6	3.5
	Aid to Dependent		
	Children	12.9	14.7
	General Assist.	30.2	31.4

"Per cent distribution of unemployable assistance recipients
by reason for unemployability

<u>Reason for unemployability</u>	<u>Receiving Aid to Dependent Children</u>		<u>Receiving General Assistance</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Age	0.1	3.1	6.7	8.3
Needed in the home	87.5	90.6	24.8	12.0
Permanent physical disability	3.9	4.0	34.5	31.2
Temporary physical disability	5.0	1.8	20.1	36.9
Mental deficiency	0.7	0.0	5.6	2.9
Lack of training	1.6	0.2	4.2	6.2
All other reasons	1.2	0.3	4.1	2.5

"From the above tabulations you will note that dependency is much higher among the colored than among the whites; that 11.3% of all colored persons in the State are on the Aid to Dependent Children rolls; that approximately one-half of all Negroes aged 65 or over are receiving Old-Age Assistance; and that there is not a great deal of difference between the races in regard to education and employability of members on the assistance rolls.

"The problem of dependency, especially as related to the aged and the children, is indeed much more pronounced among the Negroes, but I would not be inclined to look on it as a race problem. The characteristics of assistance recipients of both races are probably quite similar and there are in actual numbers considerably more white than colored recipients under each of the three assistance programs." (1)

That 49.5% of the Negroes 65 years of age and over receive old-age assistance is an indication of the degree to which aged Negroes and their responsible relatives are financially

(1)
Exhibit No.9

able to take care of old age. Perhaps the percentage would be even greater were it not for the difficulty which many Negroes who were born in the South have in establishing their exact age. Also the shorter longevity of the Negro population is a factor which tends to reduce the number of Negro persons receiving old-age assistance. Special attention should also be paid to the fact that unemployability among Negroes on general assistance on account of "temporary physical disability", ^{proportionately} is more than 1.8 times that of whites. Moreover, the 1940 census for the State shows that, whereas, only 4.6% of the total native white male population fourteen years of age and over was "unable to work", 6.4% of the Negro males of that age grouping were "unable to work". Thus, Negro males were disabled 1.39 times native white males of the State. Whereas only 3.4% of the native white females fourteen years of age and over were "unable to work", 7.2% of the Negro females were so classified. Hence, Pennsylvania Negro females were disabled 2.11 times more than native white females. Chronics and chronic illness contributed considerably both to the number of persons who were "unable to work" in 1940 and to those of the 1941 rolls of the Department of Public Assistance who were unemployed on account of "temporary physical disability."

In the absence of institutional care or any adequate substitute therefor or supplement thereto, the Negro home bears disproportionately the burden of Negro chronics and chronic illness. First, days lost from work, medical costs,

the inconvenience and costs involving other members of the family are by far the most frequent difficulties involving the majority of those who suffer chronic illness. Needless to say, the typical Negro family is in no way prepared to suffer these losses. Second, because of restrictions, exclusions, and inadequacies, various types of invalids or near invalids must also be cared for in the home. Generally, this means that the whole family schedule must be altered. Since at least 75% of the housing of Pennsylvania Negroes is sub-standard, it would seem that the Negro home is both financially and physically unable to handle the problem of chronics. Clearly, a state-wide study of chronics and chronic illness should be made including all racial and income groups. On the basis of such data, public and private agencies should formulate a joint program for all types of chronics and chronic illness.

Whether chronics are cared for in homes or in institutions is not a major point at the moment. Adequacy of facilities is the essential necessity. Suffice it to say that wherever it can be done properly and without too much inconvenience, the home and the family should assume this responsibility. It is perhaps more economical and more humane. However, as has been pointed out, the Negro home is generally unprepared to accept this responsibility due to such factors as sub-standard housing, lack of finance, broken homes, and other conditions. In the meantime, the problem is becoming more difficult. In regard to employable persons who suffer loss of time on

account of chronic illness, in the post-war period, some type of social security should be worked out which will greatly improve this situation. Whatever its nature, to be effective it must include all citizens of the low income group and must provide for both medical care and loss of time from employment.

E. Convalescent Care

Convalescent care is an established medical service. Although estimates of the magnitude of the need vary considerably, the most reliable indications are that from 30 to 40% of the in-patients discharged from general hospitals need convalescent care in an institution especially equipped for this service. Despite the variation in the judgment of the magnitude of the problem, the minimum estimation presents a serious problem for the general population of the State. In 1939, Miss Elizabeth G. Gardiner made a study for the Philadelphia Council of Social Agencies in which it was pointed out that licensed non-profit institutions in the metropolitan area of Philadelphia had only 260 beds; at which time, at least, 1,400 beds were needed. In January, 1942, at the request of the Council of Social Agencies, the Pennsylvania Department of Welfare compiled a list of private nursing and convalescent homes operated for profit in Philadelphia, Delaware, and Montgomery Counties. There were sixty-nine such homes having a licensed capacity for 1,165 persons. However, granted that the rates were modest

and that the homes were well equipped, they care for four types of persons: (1) the chronically ill, (2) the aged, (3) the senile, and (4) convalescents. Hence, it is very probable that they meet only a part of the general convalescent need.

The needs of Negroes for convalescent facilities have been known to be very serious for many years. In 1929, Dr. Haven Emerson, in his PHILADELPHIA HOSPITAL AND HEALTH SURVEY, stated:

"Undoubtedly the most serious defect in Philadelphia is the absence of facilities for Negro patients. The problem of convalescent care for this group is much more serious than for white patients because of the poorer housing conditions under which so many Negroes live, the generally lower level of family income, and the relatively greater susceptibility to disease. It is believed, as in the case of hospital beds for acute sickness, that the provision for Negro convalescing patients should be at least 50 per cent in excess of the number needed for white patients alone." (1)

The 1939 study of "Convalescent Care in Philadelphia" indicated that there were "practically no facilities" for Negroes over fourteen years of age. (2) In general, there is an inadequacy of convalescent facilities for Negroes of all ages. It is interesting to note that many hospital officials do not seem to know of the special difficulties facing Negro convalescents. Aside from their lack of money

(1) PHILADELPHIA HOSPITAL AND HEALTH SURVEY, P. 820

(2) Gardiner, Elizabeth Green, "Convalescent Care in Philadelphia", 1939, P. 84.

to pay for such services, there are only a very few licensed institutions which will accept Negro patients. One hundred and one hospital officials replied to the question: "Have you found convalescent facilities for Negro patients sufficient to meet their needs?" Fifty-seven replied: "Yes"; twenty-three replied: "No"; and twenty-one replied that they did not know. Howbeit, most of those persons replying "Yes", or who replied that they did not know were located in parts of the State in which there are few Negroes. Aside from children's institutions, there are less than ~~six~~ licensed non-profit institutions in the State which actually have any Negro convalescent patients.

Of the sixty-nine private convalescent and nursing homes in Philadelphia, Delaware, and Montgomery Counties operating for profit, only two of them serve Negroes. These two Negro homes have a capacity for only ten persons. Although more such homes are needed, it is doubtful if an adequate number of them could be operated without some form of subsidy. Regarding the ability of the general population to pay for convalescent services, Miss Gardiner stated:

"The combined evidence from the analysis of 410 patients and general observations of the referring agencies shows a relatively small proportion of the patients could pay even a small weekly fee, such as \$3.00 to \$5.00. The general comments reveal a familiar series of economic factors under 'reason patients refuse to go to convalescent home' namely, (1) unable to pay fee, (2) no money for trip, (3) no money for family to visit the institution, (4) need to return to work, (5) cut in relief budget if the patient is out of the home, (6) no suitable clothes." (1)

(1) Op. Cit. PP 31 - 32

If such a condition obtains among the general population, it is obvious that as a group, Negroes are unable to pay for convalescent services. In the absence of adequate institutional care or subsidy for private nursing homes, the Negro home must again bear the burden. By its very nature, convalescent care will be generally retarded in the typical Negro-occupied dwelling which is sub-standard and is located in an unfavorable neighborhood. The obvious need is a re-study and coordination of medical and health facilities with due regard to the needs of all citizens. In view of the fact that the most recent ^{pre-war} studies show that Philadelphia hospital beds are not sufficiently occupied, it would seem that if some of these institutions should obtain sufficient funds therefor, they could render a more needed service as convalescent homes. This is particularly true of some of the hospitals in the outlying districts.

21. PUBLIC AND PRIVATE NURSING SERVICES

On the whole, there is an inadequacy of public health nursing services for all of the citizens of the State. In a letter to the Commission dated March 18, 1942, Miss Alice M. O'Halloran, Director of the State Bureau of Public Health Nursing, said that the State employed a total of 208 public health nurses of whom 10 were colored. These Negro nurses serve in Allegheny, Blair, Dauphin, Delaware, and Philadelphia Counties. The inadequacy of public health nurses does not obtain because of too small a percentage of State employed Negro

nurses for they are approximately proportional to the Negro's percentage in the total population; neither does inadequacy obtain because the white nurses restrict their services to whites only, for they serve more Negroes than do the Negro public health nurses. Even though many municipalities employ public health nurses, they too, even when combined with state nurses, seem insufficient to meet the need. Considering the number of private nurses, the volume of work done by private nursing agencies, the inability of poor whites and the vast majority of Negroes to pay for these much needed services, the inadequacy of public health nurses of all types becomes evident.

Because of the great need for nursing services and largely because of the insufficiency of municipal, county and state tax-supported nursing services, private nursing agencies have helped to fill the need. Aside from regular bedside nursing, maternity care: pre-natal, delivery, post-partum, and new born, private nursing agencies render a wide range of very useful services. Although no one agency has all of the following services, each agency reported two or more of them: (1) personal and family hygiene, (2) nursing services for crippled children, (3) school nursing and health education program, (4) nursing services pertaining to communicable diseases, (5) assisting in the program of health centers and clinics, (6) first aid classes, (7) promoting post graduate institutes for Negro physicians and nurses, and (8) social service. The fees for these services vary from agency to agency and the patient's ability to pay.

In a letter to the Commission dated June 23, 1942, Miss Ruth Hubbard, General Director of the Visiting Nurse Society of Philadelphia reported that 5,954 of the 28,683 patients served in 1941 were Negroes; 40,004 of the 189,405 visits were made to Negro patients. Thus, Negro patients constitute 20.75% of the total patient-load and 21.12% of the total number of visits. Reports sent to the Commission from Coatesville, Chester, Delaware County, Ardmore, West Chester, Springfield, Wayne, Harrisburg, and Pittsburgh indicate that approximately 20% of the total visits made by private nursing agencies were made to Negro homes. This would indicate that the Negroes received private nursing services in excess of ~~four~~ times their ratio in the total population.

Although some complaints have been registered against private nursing agencies, on the whole, Negroes feel that these organizations have very few racial restrictions. They express their appreciation for the fine work which is being done by the private nursing associations of the State.

22. WPA HOUSEKEEPING AIDE PROJECT

In discussing public and private nursing services, and similar services rendered in the home, the Commission must include the ^{late} WPA Housekeeping Aide Project. In several instances, it would seem that this service has constituted the sole aid given to sick and convalescing persons. Throughout the State, Negroes who have received these services have praised them highly. In many localities, physicians and

nurses have also praised them. Through the kindness of Mrs. Ellen V. Schneebeli, formerly State Chief of Welfare Programs Section, WPA, the Commission is able to present an official explanation of the project especially prepared by her on March 31, 1942:

"The W.P.A. Housekeeping Aide project is a logical development growing out of an urgent need of under-privileged people for assistance, together with the necessity for providing work for unskilled women. The services that the project undertook had been given in the past by more fortunate relatives or friends or by public or private Welfare Agencies. However, the great increase in unemployment that came with the Depression brought about a very difficult situation and thousands of needy families found themselves unable to secure assistance from the usual source. The project not only gives employment to needy women, but gives relief in emergency situations to people in their own homes in a satisfactory and economical manner. It also demonstrates to the family better methods of home making and helps them to make the most of their meager resources.

"The project furnishes to the needy free home assistance in general housework, care of children and elementary care of the sick. This work is to be rendered only where the homemaker is totally or partially incapacitated, where a temporary emergency makes such assistance necessary, in motherless homes, or where assistance is needed because of old age or chronic illness regardless of age, sex or race. We are not permitted to inquire into the income of the families serviced and the services of the project may be extended only to families certified as in need by recognized Welfare Agencies. W.P.A., Relief, Old Age and Blind Pension recipients are eligible for the assistance if so determined by a Referral Agency.

"The Housekeeping Aide Program is closely related to the Programs of Public Health and Welfare Agencies and for this reason many of our Referrals are from these agencies. No

recipient of the service rendered is permitted to reimburse the Project for same. The official sponsor in the State of Pennsylvania is the Department of Public Assistance and they provide materials and supplies necessary for training activities and material for uniforms for the Aides. The co-sponsors, who are usually County or Municipal Governments, provide space, equipment and utilities for training centers, and transportation in excess of amount ordinarily necessary.

"The Housekeeping Aide Project has operated in the State of Pennsylvania since June, 1938 and during the year 1941 employed an average monthly number of 2200 aides and the approximate number of families and number of persons serviced during 1941 is as follows:

	No. of Families Serviced	No. of Persons Serviced
White	47,576	198,330
Colored	55,972(?)	34,647

"The personnel on our Centers is made up of a unit supervisor, foreman, clerical help and field workers and only women are employed: and with the exception of unit supervisors are women assigned to us by the Division of Employment or persons certified by the Department of Public Assistance as eligible for employment, and therefore women of all ages are who are physically able to perform this kind of work are assigned. No discrimination is made as to race, age or education, but all women employed on Housekeeping Aide must pass a physical examination." (1)

23. UNDUE HANDICAPS OF THE NEGRO MEDICAL PROFESSION

Since Negro professional persons serve a considerably large part of the Negro population, it may be well to summarize their points of view with reference to certain of their difficulties and how they affect the health status of the Negro population. To begin with, there are some tax-aided medical schools which do not admit qualified Negro .

(1)

Exhibit No. 10

students. Secondly, of those which do admit Negroes, the number admitted is far below the Negro's ratio in the total population and cannot be regarded as a major factor in the medical education of the Negro population. With the exception of one Negro-staffed hospital, qualified Negro young women cannot enroll in nurse training courses in any hospital in the State nor are internes accepted in any except Negro staffed hospitals.

Thirdly, and perhaps of more importance, there are only a few hospitals in the State which have Negro staff members. These exclusion and restrictive practices obtain despite the fact that all of these institutions are tax-free, many of them are tax-aided, while others are entirely tax-supported. Negro physicians, dentists, nurses, pharmacists, medical social workers, administrators, etc., need the experience afforded by the hospitals of the State.

In addition to being practically deprived of undergraduate medical education and the experience which whites gain through hospital staff status, there are fewer than a dozen hospitals which permit Negro physicians to treat in-patients within their walls. As has been mentioned, the State Department of Health operates Negro staffed clinics in venereal diseases and tuberculosis. From time to time, the Department has also appointed Negro physicians to serve on mixed staffs treating tuberculosis and venereal diseases. While this record is somewhat better, so far as clinics are concerned, there is still much to be desired. In conferences

with representative Negro medical men and women, it has been revealed that they feel these handicaps rather keenly. In numerous instances, they point out that the sum total of their handicaps, in getting medical education and experience in well staffed and equipped hospitals, tends to decrease the effectiveness with which they can meet general competition.

For obvious reasons, your Honorable Bodies and His Excellency are presented some statements from leading members of the Negro medical profession relative to how they view their most serious professional problems. In this regard, Dr. W. Harry Barnes, an eminent Philadelphia physician and Assistant Secretary of the Treasurer of the Philadelphia Housing Authority, stated:

"Difficulty or rather impossibility in obtaining positions on staffs of state-aided hospitals, sanitoriums, penal institutions, etc."

Dr. Harvey J. Reynolds of Harrisburg, one of the most outstanding Negro dentists in the State and a student of medical problems, writes:

"Facilities of operating room, privilege of internship, and of staff-membership are not accorded to Negro physicians and dentists. Nurse training is not open to colored girls."

Dr. Daniel A. Wilson, formerly secretary of the state's Negro Medical Association, has given much consideration to these problems. He writes of Negro medical needs as follows:

"(1) Representation on State, County and City Boards of Health.

"(2) Admission to the staff of any State or City Hospital.

"(3) Appointment to Staffs of all State or

City Institutions (Prisons, Asylums, Sanitoria, State Hospital for Deformed Children.)

"(4) Free access to all post graduate courses offered by medical colleges in the State.

"(5) A definite health education plan for parents".

Dr. L. McKnight, a very capable Negro physician and a member of the staff of the Mercy Hospital writes:

"It is a known fact that qualified Negro students are excluded from attending white medical schools in the state of Pennsylvania, and that they are either told or advised to attend their own medical schools elsewhere.

"In the second item, although many of the hospitals of the state are supported from funds collected from taxes of all the citizens, and still these same citizens (and I am speaking of Negro citizens), are excluded from these hospitals, and are not allowed to serve as interns, and only on very rare occasions are they allowed to become members of the staff.

"In the third instance, qualified Negro physicians are not only prevented from serving on the staffs of these hospitals, but are not allowed to take any part, even in the treatment of their own patients when they are sent to these hospitals.

"In the fourth instance, the exclusion of dental men is similar to that of the Negro physician.

"Fifth, these same hospitals which are supported from tax funds of all of the citizens do not allow Negro women to train as nurses.

"We all know that the above deplorable situation does not in any way make sense. These women and men who are willing to help America by training themselves to live a better life are not allowed to train in these institutions that they themselves are supporting, solely on the grounds that they are Negroes, and for no other reason.

"I am wondering when America will awaken, as she cannot possibly exist with one half of her people in slavery, and the other half free. The above situation for our minority group, is definitely enslaving our mental development.

"The very existence of our country is now at stake, and I trust that America will awaken to the fact that she is going to need all Americans in order to maintain these same institutions from which a portion of her honest and patriotic citizens are barred."

Dr. F. Lee Terry of Reading states:

"This problem is just one of the many problems affecting the Negro people in our Commonwealth due, I believe to a bi-racial social status which separates most of our population.

"The solution of this situation is extremely difficult and complex under present day standards of social thinking. However, much will undoubtedly happen under the stress of the present war situation to ameliorate conditions somewhat.

"In the meantime, every effort must be made by all of us to obtain opportunities for qualified Negro professional people wherever possible."

Dr. F. L. Brodie, a well known dentist of Chester states:

"This situation is deplorable, disgraceful, demoralizing as well as undemocratic and unjust to the Negro Citizens of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

"It is my sincere hope that you and your commission may be able to influence a change in this situation within the very near future."

Although the entire Negro medical profession reacts unfavorably to the above situation, there are numerous ways of expressing this dissatisfaction. Some Negro members of

the various branches of the medical profession believe that they should enlist the cooperation of leading white people in an effort to secure justice; others have little faith in interracial cooperation and some positively oppose it. Many Negroes have become discouraged and merely express their disapproval orally but do not join in any constructive movement to improve matters. Still others, although abhorring a bi-racial system, feel that it affords them their only opportunity. Finally, there are those who translate their ideas into action in the manner stated by Dr. W. C. Atkinson, Medical Director of the Clement Atkinson Memorial Hospital of Coatesville:

"I do not have a hospital because I want to, but if I am to serve my people in hospitals, then I must have my own at a great personal sacrifice of funds needed for the security of myself and my family."

The situation described above is of the utmost importance in that it contains the reactions of Negroes throughout their history in America. It also explains the establishment, maintenance, and perpetuation of bi-racial institutions and agencies. Many white philanthropists who are friends of the Negro, and all lovers of democracy, may well profit by the above statements. It is obvious that in the long run, only democratic and Christian principles will prove practical. Your Commission submits that it is incumbent upon the leaders of both races to undertake a just solution of the problems herein involved.

24. NEGRO STAFFED HOSPITALS

The above statement of the reasons for the establishment of the Clement Atkinson Memorial Hospital are, after all, not unlike the reasons for the establishment and maintenance of the other two Negro staffed hospitals of the State, the Douglass, and the Mercy. A brief description of the services of these two institutions will be enlightening.

Mercy Hospital and School for Nurses, 5000 Woodland Avenue, Philadelphia, Dr. H. M. Minton, Director, has a total bed capacity of 125. During its last fiscal year, it served 2,218 in-patients of whom 216 were white. During the same period, its out-patient department served 3,005 new patients who made a total of 10,844 visits to the various clinics conducted by the hospital. The above services were rendered by the following personnel:

"TYPE OF WORKER	No. of Negro Employees
Director	1
Assistant Director	1
Superintendent of Nurses	1
Accountant	1
Admission Clerk	1
Switch board operator	1
Record Clerk	1
Staff Physicians	50
Graduate Nurses (Registered)	19
Undergraduate Nurses	62
Dentists	5
Social Worker	1
Orderlies	2
Janitors	7
Kitchen Help	7
Housekeeper (Hospital)	1

"Type of Worker (continued)	No. of Negro Employees
Housekeeper (Nurses home)	1
Dietitian	1
Clerk (Out Patient Department)	1
Clerks (Other)	3 "

In addition to the in-patient and out-patient services, the Mercy has a Class A school for nurses. As was indicated above, there were 62 undergraduate nurses during the last fiscal year. The institution accepts between 20 and 30 new students annually. As of this date, this is the only hospital in the State in which a Negro woman may receive nurse training. The Convalescent Hospital for Colored Women is located on the grounds of the Mercy Hospital which factor should tend to make the institution's services more complete. The Medical Director of the Hospital indicates that 35% of its funds come from the State; 30% from the Community Fund; and 35% from other sources. Its buildings and equipment cost approximately \$342,500.

The Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital, 1530 Lombard Street, Philadelphia, Dr. F. D. Stubbs, Medical Director, has a total bed capacity of 85. During its last fiscal year, it served 880 Negro in-patients to whom it rendered 14,335 "days of care". Of the 880 in-patients, 293 were free. The persons served in the out-patient department made 14,908 visits to the several clinics of the hospital.

The above in-patient and out-patient services cover a wide range for which the following personnel has been responsible:

"TYPE OF WORKER	Number
Director	1
Superintendent	1
Departmental Supt.	1
Staff Physicians	47
Internes	None
Graduate Nurses	17
Dentists	3
Social Workers	1
Orderlies or Attendants	4
Janitors & Maintenance	16
Kitchen Help	3"

According to a report from its Medical Director, the hospital receives 33% of its income from the State; 10% from contributions, and 20% from "Chest Department Grant". Its buildings and equipment cost approximately \$150,000. The following statement of the Medical Director, Dr. F. D. Stubbs, is excellently done in that it not only describes the major problems of the Douglass Hospital but also of each of the three Negro staffed hospitals:

"SUMMARY OF STATUS OF DOUGLIASS MEMORIAL HOSPITAL

"The Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital, the second oldest Negro Hospital in America suffers from the same problems that beset almost all Negro institutions dependent upon the public for a large proportion of their financial support. Located centrally, in an easily accessible, congested, largely slum neighborhood, it serves an important community service but is greatly limited by its needs. These needs largely re-

solve themselves into financial problems which directly or indirectly affect physical equipment and the quality of all purchased services. An adequate appropriation from the State, one which would at least compensate in full for the unduly large amount of free service rendered due to the economic status of the people it serves, would make satisfactory maintenance of the institution possible. The percentage of free medical service rendered exceeds that of any institution receiving state aid.

"The primary function of the institution next to providing adequate medical and surgical care to patients should be educational. The training of Negro physicians and nurses in modern methods of diagnosis and treatment is of greatest importance to the maintenance of high standards among the profession. It is a recognized fact that to become and remain proficient in the care of the sick, contact with and work in a satisfactory hospital is essential. This training is not being provided in white institutions for Negro professionals and can only be secured through their own hospitals. The importance of providing and maintaining this opportunity for advanced training is a matter of importance to every citizen interested in community health, because the general health level will remain in direct proportion to the efficiency and proficiency of the professionals charged with guarding it.

"Our most urgent needs at present are sufficient funds to provide:

"1. Adequate quarters for two of the largest clinics for syphilis and tuberculosis in the state of Pennsylvania as well as other smaller clinics of the various services.

"2. Money to complete and equip a modern nurses home so that a school of nursing could be reestablished.

"3. Funds to improve the general physical condition of the hospital and to provide for more private and semi-private accommodations, as well as necessary equipment.

"4. Funds to increase the salaries of all employees, who are in almost every instance underpaid.

"Funds to construct a solarium and thus provide more beds for tuberculous patients on the present roof of the building.

"The medical staff of the institution is in large measure adequate for its present needs and is impressed with the importance of securing special training in their individual specialties. Several physicians have already secured such instruction in other institutions. However, larger numbers of the Negro medical profession should take advantage of the facilities which their own institutions offer for hospital training, since they are effectively prevented from participating in the programs of white institutions.

"Recent reorganization of the staff of the institution has resulted in the placing of the better trained men in positions of authority and resulted in the provision of an unusual group of white practitioners as consultants who are men of outstanding calibre and in many instances attached to teaching institutions.

"And finally, we can conclude that there is a very definite need for the Negro hospital to provide needed sympathetic care to members of our own racial group and to act as a training center for Negroes in all branches of the healing arts. And that our principal problems constantly resolve themselves into matters of providing adequate financial support to continue a very worthwhile and highly important community service."

25. OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS OF NEGRO PATIENTS AS VIEWED BY OFFICIALS OF HOSPITALS, CLINICS, AND VISITING NURSES' AGENCIES

Through careful observation, any hospital employee may understand many rather obvious difficulties under which patients live. While we have consulted a wide variety of hospital employees in this regard, the statements herein

given pertaining to hospitals and clinics are from either medical social workers, superintendents of hospitals, or medical directors. Field workers desired to know what hospital officials considered the most serious problems of Negroes so far as could be judged from their hospital experiences and their medical and social records. No list of problems were presented nor did the field workers explain the question. Each official was asked to reply to the following question:

"What are the outstanding problems of Negro patients?"

Here are twenty-six answers as given by the officials:

1. "Illegitimate pregnancies which are often repeated. This is much more noticeable than among the white who are principally Italian and Catholic, and have strong feelings about family life."
2. "The Association maintained a Negro clinic at 16th and Christian, at 42nd and Wallace until about 7 years ago, but it was discontinued as the colored women did not cooperate or come until babies were sick, even though the service was entirely free. The work of the Association is for well babies."
3. "Need of greater parent education as to the importance of child care by agencies other than the hospitals."
4. "(1) Most Negroes are clinical patients. Are in great minority as hospital patients due to financial reasons. Majority of white clinic patients pay the clinic fee, whereas the majority of Negroes are paying a smaller fee or none at all.

"(2) There is more venereal disease."

5. "(1) Living conditions for Negro patients in all the services are more than for the average white.

"(2) More unmarried mothers, starting at 13 years of age, many of whom are repeaters. Many underage girls are from the South.

"(3) More venereal disease."

6. "(1) Lack of guidance and protection for young girls.

"(2) Larger proportion of illegitimately pregnant girls.

"(3) More venereal disease.

"(4) Improper housing is obvious as is lack of recreation.

"(5) Poor economic ability to support homes, which Negroes undertake to do at relatively earlier ages than whites.

"(6) Convalescent care of all types is a need."

7. "(1) Housing is dreadful. The poor housing of the neighborhood is all colored.

"(2) Nutrition is a problem.

"(3) Superstition and reliance on drug store and home remedies.

"(4) Procrastination of treatment out of ignorance.

"(5) Negro doctors practice poor medicine and you can't rely on their diagnosis.

"(6) Convalescent care is a noticeable problem. Patients who return to their original environment often have relapses.

"(7) Long range educational program is needed."

8. "(1) Most of the colored children have to be free. (9 out of 10) Many more white pay the full fee.

"(2) Colored children and parents are not cooperative.

"(3) Tuetic cases are very prevalent.

"(4) Skin diseases are also prevalent.

"(5) Colored mothers have more children than they can care for. Need to be taught sense of responsibility. Public Health Department ought to deal with the problem of birth control.

"(6) Aid to Dependent Children creates as many problems as it solves, needs closer supervision.

"(7) Overcrowded living conditions. Children see too much.

"(8) Illegitimate pregnancy. Three colored children within the past year were between 13 and 15 years old.

"(9) More trades should be taught. Lack of opportunity cannot be blamed entirely on prejudice."

9. "(1) The hospital always is calling housing authorities to investigate conditions that brought them into the hospital.

"(2) Major population in venereal clinic is Negro.

"(3) Are more cooperative than whites."

10. "(1) Overcrowded living conditions. A colored home is never too small to take in one more.

"(2) You people ought to look after the recreation of young people. There is no center in the community.

"(3) A. D. C. is ruinous to colored women. The colored people should do something to stop this. Relief has done more to make colored people dependent than white.

"(4) Some attack should be made on the very great problem of illegitimacy.

"(5) Every week inquiries come about boys who are at Huntingdon Reform School. Nearly all are colored."

11. "(1) Living conditions and moral conditions are terrible. Are worse than they were twenty years ago. Negroes are mostly always non-paying.

"(2) Negroes are mostly always non-paying.

"(3) The Negro problem is the biggest problem in America. Bigger than National Defense, etc.

"(4) The Negro wants to be more than equal. Won't work on Saturday and Sunday, although plenty of white people do, etc.

"(5) Negroes ought to help themselves. The rich Negroes ought to do something for their race."

12. "Very crowded and otherwise unsatisfactory housing conditions.

"(2) This makes for poor moral conditions.

"(3) The hospital handles a great deal of illegitimacy of which the greater proportion is among Negro girls -- some very young. There is great kindness and tolerance among their families. The standard just seems to be different.

"(4) There seem to be some excess of venereal disease in pre-natal clinic and in children's clinic.

"(5) Southern migration ought to be regulated with reference to the ability of the city or State to assimilate.

"(6) Convalescent care is different. Colored people have to be educated to ask for it.

"(7) Present administration of Aid to Dependent Children tends to foster irresponsibility and laxness, morally, financially and every other way.

"(8) Big sister and Big Brother Ass'n., would help a great deal."

13. "(1) Some colored people are too contented on relief. Many homes never had as much money as they get on relief. Families often get educated on relief.

"(2) Mothers Assistance needs investigating, particularly on the large family ends.

"(3) There is absolutely no convalescent care for men in the city or vicinity or state, as far as they know. There is not adequate care of this sort for women. Seashore Homes more or less serve the need for children.

"(4) Nursing home care is also inadequate -- long time chronic care.

"(5) Diabetics and others on relief need supplementary diet and there should be a fund for this purpose.

"(6) Housing is a very important problem.

"(7) Dunnwoody should accept Negroes or a home should be established by private enterprise rather than by state aid. The white homes are all private and there would probably be much comment on a state home for Negroes.

"(8) There should be control of southern migration in order to make for better integration. There should be planned economy along that line."

14. "(1) Problem of illegitimacy is very outstanding among school age girls and older women as well. The hospital has had 35 illegitimately pregnant colored girls since April, 1941. Only 2 white. The problem has increased in the last year and a half.

"(2) The problem cases are not from the immediate neighborhood which is respectable and home-owning. (2100 block of N. 13th Street is a very bad neighborhood.)

"(3) Mothers Assistance is 'awful' and is the main stem of the problem. Colored people are much more demoralized by it than white. Used to be for widows but is now an organization for the propagation of prostitutes, etc."

15. "(1) In the section behind Girard College, they 'live' in heaps and piles -- often two families to a floor.

"(2) In the Barton Dispensary district, there is an excessive amount of illegitimate pregnancy especially among teen-age girls. The boy offenders are under age also.

"(3) Many are on relief and are free patients or part-free.

"(4) The hospital gets its lower type Negro in maternity. Most are on relief, unemployed or separated from their husbands.

"(5) Convalescent care is a problem.

"(6) There ought to be some control of southern migration. We have an overwhelming population, which it is difficult to absorb.

"(7) Illegitimacy should be attacked through P. T. A., if possible and the education of children. The moral side ought to be attacked in churches and Sunday Schools.

"(8) There ought to be more supervised recreation. Whittier Center is not at all adequate to the problem of the neighborhood. Children have nowhere to go. Parents don't encourage them to bring friends home.

"(9) Working parents are a problem -- no one home at lunch time or in the afternoons."

16. "(1) Most desperate need is for convalescent home for men and boys over age for the Seashore House. Women have more facilities than men.

"(2) Germantown has only a few blocks of bad housing -- Ashmoor St.,"

17. "(1) An excess of young illegitimately pregnant colored girls. Many of these come from Roosevelt Jr. High School. Mothers help support these children without any criticism.

"(2) Overcrowded rooming conditions contribute to this problem.

"(3) A. D. C. is more demoralizing to the colored mother than to the white.

"(4) Sex education is needed and some sense of responsibility for social conduct.

"(5) Germantown has very few recreational facilities and needs more.

"(6) Convalescent care is an outstanding problem, especially for men and over age boys."

18. "(1) Overcrowding, moral delinquencies, crime and disease go together.

"(2) Housing is deplorable -- many live in condemned houses.

"(3) More illegitimate pregnancy among colored people -- goes back to easy-going attitude toward sex and children.

"(4) State aid demoralizes a certain group of recipients who are the lowest economic and moral group anyway.

"(5) Venereal disease runs higher. Am. Asso. of Social Hygiene has compiled data for the country showing 16-18% incidence for colored and 3.2% for whites.

"(6) Lodging houses are needed. Y.W.; and Y MCA's are far too expensive.

"(7) Convalescent care is sadly lacking for white and colored, especially boys and men.

"(8) Old ladies' homes and old men's homes are less adequate than for white.

"(9) Colored people ought to have more clubs working for colored people. The better off people are not enough interested. They ought to get in touch with hospitals which are doing a great deal for colored people. Local problems in a population like Philadelphia's ought to get more attention.

"(10) Many southern migrants come with syphilis, diabetes or chest conditions and without money.

"(11) More settlements and recreation centers for adolescents as well as children.

"(12) The churches ought to teach morality. Negroes ought to be educated out of the idea that indiscriminate sex is all right.

"(13) More employment opportunity is needed.

"(14) Case work is needed with more girls. The existing agencies are overcrowded."

19. "(1) There is no institutional problem. Health education is becoming easier.

"(2) Majority of case load in relief group is colored.

"(3) Large number of illegitimately pregnant girls. Many of the single girls are court cases. These girls are not a problem as white girls in this circumstances because their families invariably accept them back and help them. Colored girls seldom reject their babies. Many are return cases, but many marry after the first baby.

"(4) Lack of room in the home for decent living and entertaining. Young couples often take a room instead of going to the movies.

"(5) Lack of recreational facilities.

"(6) Drinking of 'white mule' is contributory to accident rate.

"(7) Lack of convalescent facilities. There is no place for men and boys.

"(8) Functioning of State aid is most unsatisfactory especially in relation to the father -- deprives him of self respect and of responsibility."

20. "(1) Transient colored men live on the dumping grounds and in shacks. Finding suitable housing and clothing for these people on their dismissal from the hospital, and for other transients is a problem.

"(2) Greater incidence of unmarried mothers among the colored girls, but it doesn't seem to create the problem that it does among whites.

The girls are usually of school age or just above.

"(3) Birth rate is out of proportion to financial status.

"(4) More venereal disease among colored school children and laxness in returning for treatment.

"(5) More gonorrhea and syphilis among young colored men.

"(6) A volunteer donor agency for blood transfusions is needed.

"(7) Convalescent care for male colored patients is non-existent.

"(8) State aid to dependent children ought to be studied with a view to determining whether there are more illegitimate births now than before the present administration. Care should be taken not to tie the problems up entirely with State aid, although it may be a predisposing factor."

21. "(1) Higher rate of venereal disease is consensus of opinion.

"(2) Improvement of living conditions is their biggest need.

"(3) The hospital doesn't have enough colored patients to know their special problems.

22. "(1) Illegitimacy among young colored girls has been excessive this fall.

"(2) Tap rooms in 11th and Diamond St. sections are especially bad.

"(3) Woodside Park needs closer supervision. Has been responsible for two cases since September.

"(4) The young people are wild and defiant.

"(5) Placement of illegitimate offspring is not a problem.

"(6) Convalescent care for colored people is lacking especially for men.

"(7) Recreation and steering of adolescent boys and girls.

"(8) 'Awful' rooming houses.

"(9) Southern migration is a problem.

"(10) Relief and aid to dependent children are often demoralizing in both races."

23. "(1) Poor housing and financial stress.

"(2) The larger number of colored children who come in are in venereal clinic.

"(3) Malnutrition is a problem in both colored and white groups. Problems are the same in all under-privileged groups.

24. "(1) Negroes are a main factor at this hospital -- are 50.70%. The problem consists of the attitudes they have -- that the hospital is state aided and they should get everything for nothing. They show great reluctance to pay and they cheat and do every nasty thing.

"(2) The community has gone down to a very low level. Many stabbing and suicide cases.

"(3) 13 and 14 year old illegitimate mothers are frequently brought in by their mothers and all are very casual saying 'Everybody makes mistakes.' Parents seem to follow rather than guide their children.

"(4) 'Of course colored people's problems are different. Even the ambitious among them have difficulty in achieving satisfactory status.'

"(5) Venereal disease runs higher -- a good deal of it is congenital.

"(6) On the average they are impossible. Some cooperate beautifully.

"(7) More social service and public health work among Negroes are needed. This calls for armies of workers.

"(8) Schools for colored social service workers should be established. The girls ought to be carefully chosen.

"(9) Relief is very demoralizing and leads to cheating. Closer supervision of relief is a crying need.

"(10) Employment is needed in the worst way to give people self-respect.

"(11) Would like to see colored people's status improved immeasurably, but would like to see them do most of it for themselves.

"(12) Relief ought to be work relief and not door-step relief. We must do something more efficient than we are doing with relief.

"(13) There is also a crying need for instruction. Poor people should know how to buy thriftily, how to cook without waste, how to mend and clean and iron without burning things up. Poorest people are the wasteful.

"(14) It is hard to get satisfactory Negro help, either skilled or unskilled.

"(15) Not nearly enough home life and home occupations. A girl from a thrifty home is not as likely to go astray as one from a careless, unplanned background.

"(16) Supervised playgrounds are badly needed.

"(17) Convalescent facilities are very difficult for men, women and children. Some awfully sick people leave the hospital and have no place to convalesce.

25. "The staff is devoting a series of meetings to a discussion of the Negro. Motivation is to understand the Negro better and render better service. Grew out of current interest in minority groups. (Jewish is to be next.)

"(1) Poor and crowded housing and high rents is one of the biggest problems.

"(2) The hospital has had no maternity service for the past 7 years, but has had 4 unmarried mothers gynecological service in the past 9 months. Three were of school age. This is a higher proportion than for whites. There is not much doubt that on the whole Negro mothers and the girls themselves are less disturbed by it.

"(3) Acquired syphilis among young colored girls and boys is a most disturbing problem. This is much more pronounced among the colored people. It is much more rare, for instance, to get a young Jewish boy with syphilis. The problem is serious because it undermines the health of the race and rids them of energy and ambition.

"(4) Lack of recreation, employment and poor housing make for repetitions.

"(5) The army and more employment seem to be reducing the amount.

"(6) Other problems are the same as for other low income groups.

"(7) Convalescent facilities are lacking for men and limited for women. It is also a difficult problem for children, colored and white, after 12 years of age. WPA Housekeeping has helped greatly with colored mothers. Colored women don't seem to like or accept convalescent care as readily as white. They seem anxious to get home and neighbors and friends help them.

"(8) The hospital happens to be in a non-paying neighborhood which happens to be colored. More public money is needed for the hospital to do its work.

26. "(1) The majority of colored patients are free. Many are on relief, or, if employed, say they can't afford to pay.

"(2) Quite a few, but still the minority, fail to cooperate in the matter of returning for treatment."

Likewise, staff field workers desired to know what were the outstanding problems of white patients. The following answers are interesting:

1. "Large families and precarious living among the foreign element."
2. "A big problem with all patients whether white or colored is getting glasses, belts and special equipment."

3. "Poor housing also obtains among many white people but is a little worse for the colored population."
4. "Problem of illegitimacy is not as great."
5. "There is not much difference in housing between the races. The white group recognizes that promiscuous sexuality is not accepted, whereas, in a larger element of the colored it is not stigmatized."
6. "There is more abandonment of illegitimate children among white girls and a greater problem of care."
7. "Language difficulties with Italian speaking population."
8. "Italians try to get out of paying. Polish people are shrewd and thrifty -- use language difficulty to good advantage."
9. "Large amount of illegitimate pregnancy among the white people (very young girls). The hospital rarely gets a colored patient and has had only one case of illegitimate pregnancy in the last ten years among the colored people."
10. "Housing is a difficult problem for all races. Rents are increasing with no improvements. Problems are individual and not race or group."

The psychological interpretations of such replies are interesting. In general, hospital officials seem to know the basic needs of Negroes. However, in many instances, there are implied or expressed misunderstandings of Negro problems and their relationship to democracy. Likewise, there are also implications of race prejudice. Both types of persons need much help.

In 65.3% of the cases, poor living conditions were listed as the outstanding problems among Negroes; 53.8%

of them felt that illegitimate pregnancies constituted an outstanding problem; likewise, 53.8% of them listed the need for convalescent facilities. 38.4% of them said that venereal diseases were outstanding problems and 30.7% listed the lack of recreational facilities. Next in order of outstanding problems were: the abuse of relief - 26.9%; the lack of money, 23.0%; the need of parent education, 23.0%; southern migration, 19.2%; too much dependency on Aid to Dependent Children as a source of income, 15.38%; and the need of the practice of birth control, 15.38%. Without a doubt, if a check list of problems had been presented, the percentage of agreement would have been very high on all outstanding handicaps of Negroes. However, had such been done, the field workers would have played too much the role of participant-observers. Nevertheless, upon this wide knowledge of Negro problems on the part of white officials can be based a very fine interracial program for the improvement of conditions among the colored citizens of the State.

The policy of restricting and excluding Negro citizens from employment has produced many ill effects in all areas of Negro life. The reader will note how often this point has been stressed by medical informants. It is obvious that such unfair practices place an additional financial burden upon the medical and health facilities of the State. These statements show that hospital officials are very much aware of the fact that Negro citizens suffer more than whites from

malnutrition, lack of guidance in all fields, poor housing, improper clothing, the ill-effects of self-medication, illegitimacy, social diseases, and related handicaps. Directly and indirectly, insofar as excesses obtain, racial discrimination is at the root of every such problem. The solution rests upon an interracial approach which will encourage Negroes to do their part in minimizing and overcoming their difficulties and also which leads white citizens to become more democratic in all areas of life affecting Negroes. Thus, both races have very important tasks to perform.

The very nature of the work of visiting nurses is such that they make practical daily observations of Negro homes and neighborhoods. In terms of variety and volume, their experiences in this regard are unique. The various visiting nurses' agencies were asked: "As compared with white patients, what seems to be the most outstanding social and health problems of Negro patients?" From Phoenixville came the following reply:

"The colored population of Phoenixville is very small. The maternity patients are delivered in the hospital.

"The outstanding health and social problem as I see it is Housing, and lack of recreational facilities.

"The majority of families are on relief."

From Morrisville the following statement was sent:

"Our service really is rural and the Negro population has been small. Most of our Negro

families have been of the lower type who are least able to plan for and help themselves. Most visits and more service have been needed by them in proportion to low type white families.

"The outstanding problems seem to be inability to earn sufficient wages to support the large and rapidly increasing families. All of our recent reports of syphilitic patients have been Negro."

The Visiting Nurse Association of Coatesville reports:

"The health problems which seem to be more prominent among our Negro patients are those of venereal disease and tuberculosis. Their standard of living is lower. * * * They are more complacent with reference to any future security."

The Visiting Nurse Association of Eastern Delaware County, Lansdowne, states that the outstanding problems are:

"Venereal disease - crowded housing conditions".

The official statement from Ambler is:

"The most outstanding health problems of the Negro Race are high rate of tuberculosis and syphilis. The most outstanding social problem is poor and inadequate housing, especially in the North Hills section."

From Ardmore comes the following statement:

"The greatest problem for our colored population is inadequate housing facilities."

These statements are similar to those from other agencies in Chester, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, and other areas. Moreover, they are supported by interviews with public health nurses. All of these evidences merely point, without question, to the need of the improvement in the socio-economic status of the Negro.

26. RESTRICTIVE AND EXCLUSION POLICIES OF INSURANCE COMPANIES

Much of the Negro's inadequacy of health and medical facilities and services is due to the lack of funds. Insurance is the most universally accepted method of covering health and accident risks. Due to numerous complaints of Negroes regarding their difficulties in obtaining all types of insurance, the staff of the Commission made some investigations in the general field and found that, taken as a whole, although there are several examples of fairness, most insurance companies have restrictions regarding Negroes. In the automobile field, for example, several officials indicated that although they regret the fact, they must restrict and exclude Negroes because they present a greater risk than whites. They pointed out that the prosecuting attorney, the judge, and most often, the majority of the witnesses and the jury are white and will tend to turn in a verdict against a Negro litigant. This factor unduly increases the costs of insuring Negroes to a point which makes it unprofitable. Three executives stated that, in communities where there was strong prejudice against members of racial groups other than Negroes, they insured only enough of such persons as would enable their respective companies to avoid affording specific proof of absolute exclusion. They cited these cases to show that it was not a question of color but of community prejudices which determined their actions.

Negroes have pointed out, and with a considerable degree of correctness, that many of the very strong insurance

companies which have Negro clients discriminate against them in the matter of purchasing homes. In addition thereto, most insurance companies are known to abide by the prevailing patterns of residential segregation. Regarding health and accident insurance, many companies exclude Negroes entirely; others accept Negroes but, through various legal technicalities, discriminate against them chiefly in the form of higher rates. Negro physicians and dentists, officials of hospitals, clinics, visiting nurse agencies, a few WPA supervisors in the House-keeping Aide Project, and a few white physicians having Negro patients have pointed out that many companies swindle Negro patients both through legal technicalities and through foul practices. Since the latter are much more difficult to detect, they are by far the more prevalent. Although scores of white people of a similar socio-economic status are likewise swindled, Negroes suffer more severely.

The following case is representative of too large a number of insurance companies. The person interviewed became insured in January, 1939. Having read the policy, he desired to obtain an official re-affirmation of coverage. Consequently, on February 11, 1939, he wrote a letter to the agent who was at that time manager of the Philadelphia office, and who also personally wrote the insurance for the insured. The reply follows:

"Thank you for your letter of February 11th and due to the fact that I have been absent from my office for nearly two weeks with an attack of grippe, it has remained on my desk unanswered.

"I will endeavor to answer some of the questions that you have raised in reference to a health and accident policy with our company.

"You are fully covered twelve months a year with your policy in our company regardless of the fact that you might work only nine months a year. You are also covered under our policy regardless of the fact that your salary will be continued during the period of disability. There are no trick clauses in our policy that it does not cover you through vacation period or leave of absence and it is a full coverage 24 hours a day and 12 months a year policy form and this office will be more than glad to service you and assist you in selecting the type of policy for yourself."

Early in May, 1939, the Company requested "waivers" on a specific disability of the insured, who immediately complied with the wishes of the Company. In returning the signed "waivers", the insured, desiring to know the status of his case, wrote another letter to the manager of the district office on May 13, 1939. The manager replied:

"Acknowledging your letter of the 11th. With Waivers enclosed, I am herewith returning one to be attached to your policy.

"Regarding the Hospitalization Benefits under your policy you will find attached to the inside of policy two Riders, one providing for 1st Day Coverage in the event of injury and the other one providing for \$4.00 per day should you be confined to the Hospital for either sickness or injury.

"If you do not find these Riders attached to the policy please advise as you are paying a quarterly premium of \$9.15 - \$7.50 for your monthly benefits of \$100.00 and \$1.65 for the extra benefits of \$4.00 per day for 30 days if confined to the Hospital."

The policy was kept in force, hence, there was no occasion for further questioning of the Company until the insured became ill on March 23, 1943 and was taken to a hospital on March 24, 1942. The Company was notified concerning his illness. Forthwith, the Company sent a postal card from its Main Office which stated that the policy of the insured had expired on December 1, 1941 and therefore, the insured was not entitled to any benefits. However, the insured had (a) his cancelled check from the bank as proof of payment and (b) the Company's receipt covering his insurance through the entire month of March. Thus, the Main Office of the Company was in error. Moreover, on March 9, 1942, the insured had paid his quarterly premium which kept his insurance in force until June 1, 1942. He had (a) his cancelled bank check and (b) the Company's receipt as proof thereof. Howbeit, on April 2, 1942, another quarterly premium was sent to the district office in Philadelphia. The Company returned a receipt which indicated that the insured was covered until June 1, 1942. Hence, the insured had paid twice for insurance covering the same period.

In review, up to this point, it is evident that the records of the Company were very poorly kept which is evident from the fact that in more than eighty days the records of the Philadelphia Office had not been properly recorded in the Home Office. Second, it seems strange that the records of the Company were not kept in such a manner as to detect a double payment on a policy. In view of the fact that all

errors were in favor of the Company, it would seem that the Company's records were both inaccurate and questionable. Subsequent facts warrant such a conclusion.

On April 7, 1942, the insured received the following letter from the Company's Claim Adjuster in the Philadelphia Office:

"Under date of March 26th, you were furnished with a proof blank to be completed in detail by yourself and your attending physician. This form should have been returned to this office immediately but up to date we have not been favored with the completed form.

"It is necessary in order that we might give your case proper and prompt attention that the statement be completed and returned to us. Therefore, your early attention to this matter is urgently requested."

The insured was still in the hospital critically ill and it had not been possible for him or his physicians to fill out the form. Second, there was no urgency for this action until the period of hospitalization was over. However, the form was completed and later sent to the Philadelphia Office. At this point, the actions of the Company were not clear of suspicion, for on April 13, 1942, the insured received the following letter from the Claim Adjuster in the Philadelphia Office:

"We acknowledge receipt of your report form and in view of the information given therein are approving your claim.

"As the first seven days of illness are not covered, we are approving your claim for five days confining and seven days non-confining benefits. Our draft in the amount of \$28.32 as full payment is enclosed.

"You also enclosed with your form, hospital bills. These bills are not covered under the terms of your policy and therefore we are returning them to you."

On April 15, 1942, the insured wrote the following letter to the Claim Adjuster:

"May I thank you for your letter of April 13th. I am herewith returning the check which you sent because there is some very serious error regarding my insurance with the Company. Recently, I have noted a number of errors relative to my policy but in this letter I shall confine myself to the claim under consideration. Certainly, the sum of \$28.32 is only a fraction of the total claim to be paid.

"Perhaps it may be well for me to review my policy. First, I am paying the sum of \$9.15 quarterly. Of this sum \$7.50 pays for the disability form. The sum of \$1.65 is paid for two types of coverage. The one which is germane to this discussion is that I am to receive the sum of four dollars per day while in the hospital and also first day coverage. Thus, the eleven days in the hospital have been covered.

"I am acting on the assumption that you are doing what you understand to be the Company's policies concerning my case. Consequently, I appreciate your point of view and again thank you for the promptness with which you considered my claim.

"Nevertheless, I am returning the check with the idea that unless the errors referred to are corrected, there is nothing for me to do but to have my lawyer present the case to the Division of Complaints, Insurance Department of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. I feel sure that the Company will abide by the suggestions of the Division and so will I do so gladly."

To this letter, on April 17, 1942, the Claim Adjuster replied:

"We wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 15th in regard to your accident and health policy held with this company.

"Our records reveal that you carry policy form * * * and that you have one rider attached to it, * * * For this you are paying a premium of \$9.15 which is the correct premium according to the rate sheet and rates filed with the Insurance department.

"This policy provides you with eighty day sickness coverage and first day accident coverage and ~~there~~ is no hospitalization feature in the policy. Therefore, your claim for sickness benefits due to your recent pneumonia was paid in accordance with the policy provisions of seven days elimination on the sickness and the claim amounts to \$28.32.

"According to the information you give in your letter, I am wondering just what riders are attached to your policy and it would be greatly appreciated if you would forward the policy to this office for our inspection and review. As soon as the policy has served our purpose we will return it to you. You may use this letter as a receipt for the policy until it is returned."

The insured, by now completely distrustful of the Company's methods of doing business, did not send the policy to be examined. However, he replied on April 18th merely reviewing again his case with the Company. In the meantime, upon the advice of his attorney, the insured went to Harrisburg and placed the documentary evidence before the Division of Complaints of the Department of Insurance of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Fortunately, the late Mr. Taggart, Insurance Commissioner, reviewed the case. He pointed out very clearly to the insured that the Company was in error and liable on every point contested by the insured. He immediately wrote the Home Office of the Company. On May 4, 1942, the Chief Adjuster of Claims in the Home Office replied to the Chief of

the Division of Complaints, Insurance Department, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as follows:

"We now have the file of the above case and find that the insured is correct on at least two of the counts he has brought to the attention of your Department.

"1. The policy as originally written should have included a hospital rider because he has been paying sufficient premium for this protection. This fact was not shown by our records; hence, our Philadelphia representative did not allow hospital indemnity in paying the claim. We are instructing him to pay the insured an additional \$44.00 to cover his eleven days' hospitalization and to attach a hospital rider to his policy, so that there will be no question regarding any future claim that may be presented.

"2. We do not as yet have a collection report from our Philadelphia Office; but if it is true that a double payment was made in March and no refund has been made, the insured will be given credit and receipt issued to show that his policy is in force to September 1st.

"3. The amount of confining indemnity allowed was based upon the statement originally submitted by the attending physician in which he said that the insured was confined from March 23 to April 4; however, this feature has already been discussed with the insured and he promises to submit a supplemental report from the doctor. If it is found that he is entitled to additional indemnity, it will be paid promptly upon receipt of this statement.

"We are sorry that your Department has been put to the inconvenience of writing us about this case and hope that it has been disposed of to your complete satisfaction."

On May 6, 1942, the insured received the following letter from the Claim Adjuster of the Philadelphia Office:

"Our home office has had correspondence with the Insurance Department and in view of the facts in your case they advise me

that you are entitled to \$4.00 per day while confined to the hospital in accordance with a rider which you have been paying for but which has never been a part of your policy. Therefore, in view of the information we have in our file we are approving 11 days hospitalization at \$4.00 per day, five days of confinement and seven days of non-confining benefits making a total of \$72.32. Our draft in that amount as full payment is enclosed. * * * * *

"You undoubtedly have our collection department's letter of April 30th in regard to the duplication of premium payment and that letter indicates that the second remittance received in this office on April 4th in the amount of \$9.15 has been applied to advance premiums paying your policy up to September 1st, 1942. We are also enclosing with this letter our official receipt showing the premium payment up to that date.

"Trusting this is found satisfactory, we are indeed sorry for the misunderstanding we have had in your case but it was due to the fact that our records were not complete."

Space does not permit continuation of the case. However, the Company made four mistakes in its own behalf. (1) It stated that the policy of the insured had expired. (2) Its records indicated that the insured paid twice for the same period. (3) It urgently requested the insured to fill out a form while the insured was still in the hospital; although the form appeared to be of a preliminary nature, it was used as the basis for the settlement of the claim. (4) It declared that the insured was not eligible for hospitalization benefits on the grounds that the premium paid by the insured was insufficient to cover hospitalization. Needless to point out, on all of these scores, the Company was forced to admit its error but did not do so until the entire case was reviewed

by the Department of Insurance of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. There is evidence of poor business methods, bad faith, and efforts to swindle.

The larger and better known insurance companies are among the most respectable business concerns in the nation. In numerous ways, they make a great contribution to American life and point the way for other business establishments. It seems very strange that the representatives of these concerns do not see to it that insurance laws are properly revised and so administered as to prevent such practices as are referred to above. Your Commission submits that the Honorable Bodies may well review insurance legislation and practices in the Commonwealth.

Several group hospital plans have been reviewed by the staff. On the whole, they are good and ought to gain more support among Negroes. However, so far as the staff could determine, Negro physicians are not allowed to serve their patients in any of the non-Negro staffed hospitals participating in the several group associations. Should those difficulties be reasonably solved and some other adjustments made, the various hospital plans would be much more satisfactory. However, Negroes must, in some way, prepare to share a greater part of the cost of their own medical care. Negro leadership must exert itself more vigorously in this regard. Upon white and Negro leadership rests the responsibility of removing unnecessary barriers which tend to prevent Negroes from paying a larger share of the cost of their medical care.

27. NUTRITIONAL DEFICIENCIES

In Philadelphia, the Commission requested a group of Negro educators to compile a list of the major problems of Negroes. Without conferring with each other, it is significant to note that nutritional difficulties ranked high on each list. Later, in Chester, Harrisburg, and Steelton, the same question was asked teachers and social workers. They, too, listed nutritional problems as being one of the chief handicaps. On Monday, October 19, 1942, the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research reported that in spite of the declining school attendance and free school lunch for the underprivileged from June, 1932 to June, 1942 there had been an increase in the number of children suffering from malnutrition. Even though it is generally estimated by authorities that at least 30 to 35% of the total population suffers from some form of malnutrition, it is believed by experts, that a much larger percentage of Negroes suffer from malnutrition. Teachers have indicated that in addition to physical defects attributable to malnutrition, the restlessness of many Negro children, their easy exhaustion, listlessness, and their inability to give attention are often due to nutritional problems. A sample study of age-weight-height tables indicated both the underweight, and underheight of the typical Negro child. Despite the difficulties involved in the accuracy of such studies, the indications of malnutrition are evident. Although it is obvious that other factors enter into the above conditions, nutritional inadequacies are also present. More-

over, talks with children themselves and observations of their diets further confirm the fact of serious nutritional problems among Negro children. Being undernourished, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and getting too little sleep, separately and combined, contribute to general morbidity.

In realization of the nutritional difficulties of thousands of children of both races, municipal, county, state and federal agencies in cooperation with private clubs, societies, agencies, etc., have established the School Lunch Program of Pennsylvania. A brief description and report of it involving all school children in the State who suffer from malnutrition has been prepared for the Commission by Mrs. Ellen V. Schneebeil, former State Chief of the Welfare Programs Section, WPA:

"The School Lunch Program was made available to the public and parochial schools in the latter part of 1936 on a County-wide basis.

"The School Lunch Program of Pennsylvania was sponsored in 1940 by the State Department of Public Instruction. Each unit is co-sponsored by a civic group such as the Parent-Teacher Associations, Mothers' Clubs, School Board, Kiwanis Club, Lions Club, Veterans of Foreign Wars, American Legion and various Church societies.

"The purpose of the Program is to prepare and serve school lunches to be furnished without cost to needy or undernourished children in the public schools throughout Pennsylvania or in the parochial schools to those needy or undernourished children who do not pay tuition. The work also includes the operation of gardens and the canning of garden, donated or surplus foodstuffs for use on the school lunches or for free distribution to the needy.

"In order that the needy children may be served without social stigma, and that the program may reach other children suffering from malnutrition, but whose parents could make a contribution, the co-sponsors establish a common food fund which is used to supply the necessary fresh vegetables, milk, meats, etc., to be co-mingled with the surplus foods made available to the schools through the Surplus Marketing Administration and the Department of Public Assistance.

"Since Federal funds are limited to payment for supervision and labor, local school boards or civic groups assume the financial responsibility for food, other material costs, and equipment for the units of the project operating under their jurisdiction. The labor personnel is certified from the relief rolls to WPA for employment. There is no discrimination in the placement of labor on this work - either by race, creed or color.

"During the summer of 1941 there were 58 school Lunch Canning units operating in various parts of the State. The purpose of this activity was to can and preserve fruits and vegetables to be used on the School Lunch Program during the winter months. This program has been a great asset to the feeding program; adding greater variety and enabling the schools to serve more balanced lunches to the children. The co-sponsors in most instances, planted and cultivated gardens especially for the canning program. The Surplus Marketing Administration also supplied vegetables to the units at various times. The total amount of food preserved and canned is as follows:

21,117 quarts of fruits
20,876 quarts of vegetables

"During the School Lunch Program served a total of 3,577,584 lunches of which 3,485,151 were served to white children; 81,971 to Negroes, and 1,309 to children of other races. We do not make a breakdown according to the sex or age of the recipients. However, we might add that our Program carried through from Kindergartens to High Schools." (1)

(1)

Exhibit No. 10

This problem is also rather serious among Negro adults. Since approximately one-half of the Negro population has existed on some form of public or private charity during the past decade, the undernourishment of a large proportion of the adult Negro citizens of the State is to be expected; for it is accepted among experts that the Public Assistance allowances for food have always been inadequate for sufficient nourishment. For some unknown reason, Negro relief clients in the State have never taken full advantage of the food stamp plan. To this, one must add that only a small percentage of employed Negroes were able to purchase food suitable for their specific individual needs unless they denied themselves of some other necessities. When viewed in the light of sub-standard housing and inadequate clothing, the accumulative effect of malnutrition becomes even more distressing.

28. THE ADVERSE EFFECT OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT ON NEGRO HEALTH

It has been pointed out that because of excessively low income, and residential segregation with its consequent artificial housing scarcity, Negroes are forced to occupy the more blighted and deteriorated areas and the more sub-standard dwellings of any neighborhood in which they live. As compared with other neighborhoods, the typical Negro neighborhood constitutes a greater fire hazard; it is inadequately policed; it is more noisy, the streets are dirtier; the garbage removal system is poorer; and the

sewerage facilities are less adequate. Although the sanitation problem has many ramifications, the most common difficulty is the use of one toilet by several families. While many citizens of all races suffer from this health hazard, it is disproportionately frequent among Negro citizens. Wherever these conditions prevail, they increase morbidity and mortality rates. The typical Negro neighborhood has more polluted air per unit volume than other neighborhoods. Moreover, there is an inadequacy of recreational facilities in the typical Negro neighborhoods. In numerous instances throughout the State, staff investigations have shown that, in mixed neighborhoods, Negroes did not have access to all of the recreational facilities available.

Next to the lack of sanitary conditions, overcrowding or congestion is the most serious problem of blighted and slum areas. With reference to congestion, Mr. J. M. Dalluville, Sanitary Engineer of the United States Health Service, states:

"Congested dwellings create a maximum opportunity for the spread of disease. It follows, therefore, that if the lack of sanitary facilities is one of the primary causes of disease, then overcrowding is the vehicle by which it is spread. This is particularly true of contagious diseases and especially the diseases of childhood. Overcrowding permits numerous contacts to be made with infected persons, and these contacts conduce to increase the incidence of disease, which may often reach epidemic proportions. The influence of overcrowding on the spread of such infectious diseases as measles, whooping cough, tuberculosis, cerebrospinal fever, and

similar diseases, cannot be overestimated." (1)

To this list of communicable diseases which spread very rapidly in slum and blighted areas, we must add the common cold, sore throat, bronchitis, influenza, pneumonia, chicken pox, scarlet fever, and mumps. Thus, while individual sub-standard dwellings constitute health hazards, deteriorated and slum areas constitute a far more dangerous hazard in that congested areas are very conducive to the spread of communicable diseases.

As compared with other citizens, Negro-occupied dwellings are not in good physical condition. They are old, damp, either difficult or expensive to heat, poorly lighted, poorly ventilated, overcrowded, inadequately serviced with bathing and toilet facilities, and are below standard in the quantity and quality of modern conveniences. On the whole, for various reasons, nearly three-fourths of all Negro-occupied dwellings in the State are sub-standard; on the contrary, less than one-half of the white-occupied dwellings can be so classified.

In 1925, the United States Childrens' Bureau made a study of 23,000 births in eight cities in an effort to determine the relationship between infant mortality and housing. The study shows that in homes which averaged less than one person per room, the infant mortality rate was 52.0 per 1,000 births, and in homes averaging two or more persons per

(1) "Some Factors Which Affect the Relationship Between Housing and Health", Reprint No. 1840 from Public Health Reports, P. 5.

room, the rate was 135.7 per 1,000 births. It is evident that this latter figure represents overcrowding. Such a study merely indicates that irrespective of race, bad housing, taking due account of related factors, contributes considerably to a high rate of infant mortality. It has been pointed out that approximately three-fourths of Negro-occupied dwellings in Pennsylvania are sub-standard. Thus, as we may expect, the Negro has a higher infant mortality rate than other citizens.

Given the high infant mortality rates of congested areas and granted that many children live through babyhood in congested and overcrowded areas, what are their chances of longevity? In 1929-31, a study was made in Cincinnati of measles, whooping cough, diphtheria, and scarlet fever as found in four groups of homes which ranged from slums (Group I) to the best types of homes (Group IV). The mean annual mortality rates of the four groups were as follows:

Group	I :	127 per 100,000 population
Group	II :	63 per 100,000 population
Group	III :	40 per 100,000 population
Group	IV :	29 per 100,000 population

Taking due account of the fact that socio-economic status is involved in the above results, congested and overcrowded areas account considerably for the excess death rates between slum dwellers and residents of the best housed areas.

Children who live in slums and blighted areas are known to suffer from rickets more than children who dwell in better

housed areas. While malnutrition is one of the major causes of rickets, the lack of sunlight is another very important factor. Slums and blighted areas are known for their inadequacy of sunlight; slum neighborhoods are almost invariably inadequately supplied with sunny and safe play areas. In Cleveland, from 1928-1931, it was found that the death rate for one of its slum areas was five times that of the rest of the city. In Detroit, a survey conducted from 1930 to 1932 showed that the death rate for one of its slum areas was more than six times that of the city as a whole.

A survey was made in Cincinnati from 1929-1931 in which it was found that white deaths from pneumonia was 160.5 per 100,000 population while the rate for the rest of the city's white population was 50.3. For Negroes who inhabited this same slum area, the death rate from pneumonia was 293.5 per 100,000 population, whereas the Negro rate for the rest of the city was 168.6. In the same slum district, the white death rate from all causes was 16.23 per 1,000 population as compared with a rate of 10.75 per 1,000 population for the rest of the city. Negroes of this same slum area had a death rate of 23.45 per 1,000 population as compared with 16.83 per 1,000 population for the rest of the city. Similar instances can be cited all over the nation, Pennsylvania cities included.

It is rather significant that when staff field workers asked hospital officials what were the most outstanding problems of Negroes, 65.3% of them stated that poor living

conditions were most outstanding. 30.7% of them said that recreation was an outstanding health problem. Sub-standard housing is one of the chief contributing factors to the excessive morbidity and mortality rates of Negroes. Nevertheless, 53.8% of the hospital officials stated that convalescent facilities constituted an outstanding need among Negroes. This condition greatly retards both the prevention and cure of most diseases among Negroes. Largely because of the lack of finance and partly due to race prejudice, so far as such can be generalized from hospital statistics, Negroes are released from hospitals sooner than whites. Too often, the home conditions of Negroes who are released from hospitals cause them to either defer considerably the time when they can return to normal work or positively contribute to their recurring morbidity.

It has been observed that the Negro's unemployment rate has been much higher than his proportion in the total population; and, that relief, WPA, NYA, Old-age pension, and other forms of tax-supported agencies afford the only income of thousands of Negroes. Of those Negroes who were employed, in general, their working conditions were less favorable to the conservation of health than were the conditions of white employees. Unfortunately, the mean annual income of non-relief Negroes was so low that more than 90% of them could hardly have been classed as other than marginal and sub-marginal. Consequently, from whatever source, the income of the typical Negro citizen was

far below that of the typical white citizen. In fact, his income was so low that, barring race prejudice, the typical Negro citizen could not have afforded to pay for satisfactory housing, proper food and clothing, and insure himself against health and accident risks. Thus, the money which the typical Negro spent for philanthropic and religious causes, recreation and leisure time activities, was often expended at the sacrifice of some basic health factor. It must be pointed out that while unemployment is today no problem to Negroes, the type of employment with its consequent low wage scale does not enable the masses of Negroes to improve their condition at a rate which is commensurate with their needs. It must be emphasized that the same discriminatory policies and practices which caused Negroes to be recipients of various types of relief during the last decade, in numbers far in excess of their ratio in the total population, operated to prevent Negroes from being given equal job opportunities during the period of National Defense and also after Pearl Harbor. Thus far, there have been little significant changes in the picture as a whole.

Sub-standard income not only means being ill-housed, it also means being ill-clothed and ill-fed. The effect of these three maladjustments is most dramatically told through statistical studies of such respiratory diseases as pneumonia and tuberculosis. It is known that these two diseases can be traced very largely to socio-economic conditions. Tables XI and XII on pneumonia and tuberculosis rates were prepared for the Commission by Mr. Tom E. Williams, Director, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Department of Health.

TABLE XI

PNEUMONIA MORTALITY IN PENNSYLVANIA BY COLOR: 1931-1941, INCLUSIVE

YEAR	T O T A L		W H I T E		C O L O R E D	
	Number	Rate*	Number	Rate*	Number	Rate*
1931	9,917	102.6	8,741	95.0	1,176	256.2
1932	8,426	86.9	7,626	82.6	800	173.8
1933	7,355	75.7	6,652	71.9	703	152.3
1934	8,421	86.4	7,542	81.2	879	189.9
1935	8,411	86.1	7,540	81.0	871	187.6
1936	9,077	92.6	8,119	87.0	958	205.8
1937	8,590	87.4	7,690	82.2	900	192.8
1938	6,371	64.7	5,716	60.9	655	140.0
1939	5,455	55.2	4,932	52.4	523	111.4
1940	5,543	56.0	4,938	52.7	555	117.9
1941**	4,178	42.1	(a)		(a)	

* Rates are per 100,000 estimated mid year populations.

** Totals and rates for 1941 are provisional and subject to revision when final tabulations for the year are completed.

(a) Not yet available.

It will be noted that although there has been much absolute improvement in the pneumonia mortality rates among Negroes during the past decade, as compared with the white population, there has been relatively little improvement. For instance, in 1931, the Negro death rate for pneumonia was 2.69 times that of whites; in 1932, it was 2.10; in 1933, it was 2.11; in 1934, it was 2.33; in 1935, it was 2.31; in 1936, it was 2.36; in 1937, it was 2.34; in 1938, it was 2.29; in 1939, it was 2.10 and, in 1940, the Negro death rate from pneumonia was 2.23 times that of white citizens in the State.

The history of tuberculosis is such that it affords a very startling example of the influence of environment upon

health. From the time of Koch, the discoverer of the germ which causes tuberculosis, it has been known that tubercular germs are rather widespread. Individuals vary considerably in the degree of immunity to the disease. Unless exposed to an unusually large number of tubercular germs, the healthy individual escapes tuberculosis. However, it has been noted that those who suffer most from dust-laden atmosphere, inadequate clothing, undernourishment, fatigue, sub-standard housing and all of the health hazards involved, are the most frequent victims of tuberculosis. For these reasons, tuberculosis is often referred to as a disease of the lower classes; likewise, for related reasons, it is often thought of as a family disease. A brief review of the socio-economic status of the Negro citizens of the State will show that they suffer disproportionately from the major factors which underlie tuberculosis. Aside from the necessary medical treatment, good food, rest, freedom from worry, and sleep are necessary for recovery. Hence, while other factors enter into the equation, poverty underlies the causes for tuberculosis and also tends to prevent recovery therefrom. The following table is self-explanatory:

TABLE XII
TUBERCULOSIS MORTALITY IN PENNSYLVANIA
BY COLOR: 1931-1941 INCLUSIVE
(Please see next page)

TABLE XII

TUBERCULOSIS MORTALITY IN PENNSYLVANIA BY COLOR: 1931-1941 INCLUSIVE

YEAR	T O T A L		W H I T E		C O L O R E D		No. of Times Negro Exceeds Whites
	Number	Rate*	Number	Rate*	Number	Rate*	
1931	5,746	59.5	4,610	50.1	1,136	247.4	4.93
1932	5,411	55.8	4,375	47.4	1,036	225.0	4.74
1933	5,088	52.4	4,142	44.7	946	204.9	4.58
1934	4,976	51.1	4,085	44.0	891	192.5	4.37
1935	4,638	47.4	3,804	40.9	834	179.7	4.39
1936	4,713	48.1	3,805	40.8	908	195.1	4.78
1937	4,906	49.9	3,984	42.6	922	197.5	4.63
1938	4,381	44.5	3,462	36.9	919	196.4	5.32
1939	4,235	42.9	3,365	35.8	870	185.4	5.17
1940	4,213	42.5	3,341	35.3	872	185.3	5.24
1941**	3,784	38.1	(a)		(a)		

* Rates are per 100,000 estimated mid year populations.

** Totals and rates for 1941 are provisional and subject to revision when final tabulations for the year are completed.

(a) Not yet available.

Although there has been significant absolute improvement of tuberculosis mortality rates among Negroes in the State during the past decade, relatively, there has been an increase in Negro tuberculosis mortality rates. For example, from Table XII it is evident that in 1931, the Negro tuberculosis mortality rate was 4.93 times that of whites; from 1938 through 1940 it was five times in excess of that of whites. The evidence seems to point to the fact that although Negroes have made remarkable progress, their advancement has been far behind that of white citizens. This situation merely reflects the more disadvantageous status of Negro citizens.

In general, taking all factors into consideration, it can be said that the socio-economic maladjustments of Negro citizens of the State reduce their vitality so low that they are more susceptible to disease than the general population.

29. HANDICAPS DUE TO POOR HYGIENIC HABITS, IGNORANCE OF HEALTH EDUCATION, SELF-MEDICATION, AND "QUACK DOCTORS"

Giving due recognition to the general inadequacy of medical facilities and services among Negroes, admitting that the vast majority of Negro-occupied dwellings are sub-standard, giving due cognizance to the inadequacy of recreational facilities for Negroes, taking due cognizance of the less favorable working conditions of the Negro; and finally taking due cognizance of all of these health and medical disadvantages resulting from low income, it should be emphasized that ignorance of health education and poor hygienic habits account for much of the adverse health status of the Negro. Closely related to, and perhaps overlapping these two handicaps is the fact that among many Negroes there is an indifference to, little confidence in, or a positive antipathy against established and accepted medical and health facilities, procedures, and services. Consequently, patent medicines, herbs, home remedies, "quack doctors", etc., play too large a part in the life of the more underprivileged Negroes of the Commonwealth. Moreover, studies have shown that many Negroes accept suggestions of pharmacists instead of being attended by a physician. Even though these

factors weigh heavily against Negroes, they are not racial. Numerous studies, without exception, have shown that they tend to influence equally all people, irrespective of race, whose general educational and socio-economic status are similar to those of Negroes. With reference to home medication, Dr. Wallace Yater, Professor of Medicine at George University, stated that less than \$225,000,000 worth of the \$1,500,000,000 spent annually for drugs were prescribed by physicians.⁽¹⁾ Hence, were it not for the fact that there are proportionately so many more Negroes thus underprivileged, no special emphasis would be placed upon these problems.

In all fairness to many Negroes who are indifferent to or have an antipathy toward established medical and health facilities and services, it should be pointed out that the treatment they receive at some hospitals and clinics is often responsible for their attitudes. Your staff has observed much unnecessary verbal abuse of Negro patients in hospitals and clinics throughout the State. It is true, however, that poor whites are often thus abused also but not as much as Negroes. Irrespective of race, such abuses are not necessary. All hospitals and clinics should have rules adequate for administrative purposes; in case of infractions thereof, patients should be sanctioned accordingly.

(1) Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, June 13, 1942, Page E. 3

It may be well to summarize the above discussion. To begin with, so far as the nation is concerned, there is a great inadequacy of health and medical facilities and services for all of the people. The shortage in the field of preventive medicine is most glaring. To complicate matters further, one-third of the nation's population is unable to pay for its medical care and a much larger percentage is sub-standard because of illness. Howbeit, as compared with other states in the availability of health and medical services, Pennsylvania ranks rather high. Nevertheless, so far as Negroes are concerned, there are two most serious handicaps in the use of the facilities and services in the State. First, it has been emphasized that much of the shortage of health and medical facilities and services pertaining to Negroes is due to their lack of funds with which to pay for these services. In general, sub-standard income is the crux of the problem. Added to these difficulties, is the matter of insurance which is the universally accepted method of covering health and accident risks. Nevertheless, though there are worthy examples to the contrary, most insurance companies, through various legal technicalities, discriminate against Negroes.

Investigations regarding the various types of group hospital plans reveal that they impair their effectiveness and appeal to Negroes by their lack of a sufficiently wide range of coverage, their discriminations against competent Negro members of the medical profession, and because some of the participating hospitals restrict and limit Negro patients.

Nevertheless, the best of these plans must be recommended along with other plans for some methods must be found which will enable the Negro population to bear a larger share of the cost of its medical care.

The second handicap arises out of the fact that restrictions and exclusions tend greatly to increase the shortage of health and medical facilities and services for Negroes. Moreover, these limitations extend to areas of medical education, staff, and administrative positions in the general field of health and medicine. The fact is that in the professional area, restrictions and exclusions are even more severe. Chiefly because of the limitations placed upon Negro patients in some hospitals and because of the undue restrictions placed upon the Negro members of the medical profession, three Negro-staffed hospitals have been established in the State. In spite of their most urgent need of finances, they are doing fine work. Funds should be found to enable them to improve both the quality and quantity of their services.

Nevertheless, many leading citizens have observed that, through no fault of the Negro-staffed hospitals, there has been relatively little improvement in the eradication of the basic evils which gave rise to their establishment. Therefore, these persons feel that although much financial help should be given Negro-staffed hospitals, the major medical task of the Commonwealth is to foster those interracial measures which will tend greatly to reduce the restrictions

and limitations placed upon Negro patients and members of the medical profession. Your Commission submits that now is a most propitious time for this type of expression of interracial goodwill and justice in the field of health and medicine. Public medical facilities in the State have been developed considerably in relation to tax-free and tax-aided medical facilities and services. Being designed as they are for special services and also for persons in the low income group, it is rather difficult to judge them except in terms of the specific responsibilities accepted by them. Even though there are many excellent phases of the health and medical work of tax-supported institutions and agencies, they are generally inadequate. The inadequacy lies chiefly in the lack of funds. However, if they are viewed in terms of the areas of service undertaken by private and semi-private medical and health facilities, their scope is somewhat inadequate. Howbeit, in terms of volume, Negro patients are treated in numbers in excess of their proportion in the total population. Often, however, as is true in case of tuberculosis, they are not treated according to their mortality rates. Finally, State owned institutions should add to their personnel more competent Negro physicians, dentists, nurses, medical technicians, and other essential employees.

Although occupational hygiene and safety have been rapidly advanced during the past twenty years, there is still much need of improvement. As compared with other citizens, Negroes suffer disproportionately from occupational hazards. The poor

housing conditions of the Negro population constitute a very serious handicap to Negro health in that they simultaneously contribute to the development of diseases and retard recovery.

Although the typical Negro is hardly more unhygienic or more indifferent to established health and medical facilities and services or more given to self-medication than are members of other races of the same socio-economic status, because of the multiple factors involved in racial discrimination, proportionately, Negroes suffer more from these handicaps than do other citizens.

The interrelations among the several factors suggested and implied suggest their complexity. Howbeit, in view of all factors involved, there is an inadequacy of health and medical facilities for Negroes. In order to improve the situation significantly, racial discriminations must be greatly reduced; the income of the average Negro must be increased, and the Negro himself must change his attitude and reduce self-medication and the use of "quack doctors" to a minimum, improve his health habits, and improve his attitude toward established health and medical facilities.

In this program of health education, the State should make its contribution through the establishment of more medical centers. The success of the program will depend in no small measure on the democratic use of competent Negro members of the medical profession and an excellent staff of Negro lay medical workers. Fortunately, the executives in the State Department of Health are aware of the major health needs of

the Negro population. The lack of funds constitute their chief handicap. Given the proper encouragement, these persons will appoint more Negroes to important positions. Whether health centers are provided by the State or some other agency, Negro leadership must be an important factor. It has an obligation which can be met by no other agency or group. It is encouraging to know that many Negro leaders are aware of this responsibility and opportunity and are already doing something in this regard.

CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

An examination of both State and national records of law violations show that for the past six or more decades, the volume of Negro crime and delinquency has been greatly in excess of the Negro's proportion in the total population. Admitting that these rates are much higher than they should be, it may be well to consider a brief study of some of the basic factors involved in the records themselves. An examination will show, among many things, that official records of law violations are not a reliable index to the volume of crime and delinquency. If we conceive crime as any act or failure to act which subjects the doer to legal punishment or if we conceive crime as a violation of the law, then, irrespective of race, it is impossible to measure the volume of crime and delinquency in our country. We cannot measure the volume of law violations because we are unable to determine both the number and the intensity of the violations. Granted that errors are inherent in all statistics dealing with crime and delinquency, for reasons soon to follow, there is even greater error in the statistics dealing with Negro crime and delinquency.

First, since some officers of the law will arrest a Negro or a member of a minority group, for the same violations for which a native white person would not be arrested, the number of arrests is faulty as a measure of the volume of crime and delinquency. Moreover, for the

same and similar reasons, proportionately more Negro than white violators may be apprehended. Thus, there may be a great discrepancy between actual violations of the law and the number of persons apprehended and arrested. Second, many records do not indicate the race or nationality of the offender arrested. Third, in the case of the Negro, we know that there is no definitely established relationship between the number of arrests and those who are later found to be guilty. This may be inferred from the fact that in proportion to the number of arrests there are often proportionately fewer Negroes than whites convicted. Fourth, between arrest and a just trial, the minor judiciary, the prosecuting attorney, and political influence tend to release proportionately more whites than Negroes. Likewise, similar forces may cause Negroes to suffer injustices more than whites. Fifth, what can we learn from convictions? Often, the prosecuting attorney, the judge, and a majority of the jury members are white; hence, while law and fact play an important part in the conviction or acquittal of Negroes, traditional prejudices most often play their part.

Sixth, in what way does the jail or prison population indicate the volume of crime and delinquency? Suspended sentence, parole, probation, and pardon, which are very effective methods of depleting the jail and prison population, tend to favor the members of the majority group. Moreover, at conviction, in many instances, there is an alternative of a fine or imprisonment, or there may be a combination of both.

In such cases, since Negroes, in comparison with whites, have so little money, it is expected that such an alternative will tend to release more whites than Negroes. In addition thereto, often, through discretionary powers given the judiciary in the case of indeterminate sentence, longer and more severe sentences for the same offense are given Negroes than whites. Therefore, neither the number of arrests, nor the number of convictions, nor yet the jail or prison population, separately or combined, affords an accurate measure of the volume of Negro crime and delinquency as compared with the general population.⁽¹⁾

On account of these and many other reasons, the criminal law needs to be re-stated in terms of the accepted findings of modern knowledge and the best practices relating to the field of criminal law. This re-statement implies appropriate changes in the efficiency and wisdom exhibited by the agencies of justice. In addition to the lameness of criminal justice, unreasonable prejudices, political corruption, and similar misfortunes often make justice blind. Professor Glueck of Harvard has summarized the matter excellently as follows:

"Not only judges but all the other enforcers of the criminal law need to have training in the interpretation of adequate case-histories and the understanding of treatment methods.

(1) Cf., Young, Donald, AMERICAN MINORITY PEOPLES, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1932, P. 227 et seq.

They should know enough psychology, sociology and other disciplines to employ intelligently the data indispensable to an effective yet just treatment of offenders. With outstanding exceptions here and there, police investigator, criminal court judge, probation officer, penal institution administrator, parole board member and parole agent have not enjoyed such training. As has already been suggested, unconscious or conscious prejudices against type of offense or race or class of offender, or a technically narrow legalistic attitude, rather than a broad training in pertinent disciplines, is still too often the basis of a sentence. Ignorance of even rudimentary psychological considerations still marks the work of many probation officer, prison attendant and parole agent." (1)

The Ruth Commission, created by the 1937 Session of the General Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania stated in its report:

"Two of the principal obstacles to effective criminal justice, are inadequate administrative machinery and inefficient officials to operate our mechanism of justice." (2)

The Ruth Commission's report on the administration of justice cited hundreds of exact references and specially prepared exhibits giving ample proof of the lameness and blindness of justice in Pennsylvania. While there are many agents of justice in our State who are of the highest intellectual and moral calibre, nevertheless, there are scores of others

- (1) Glueck, Sheldon; CRIME AND JUSTICE, Brown & Co., Boston, Mass., 1936, P. 132
- (2) "Report to the Governor of the Joint Legislature Commission To Investigate the Administration of Criminal Justice and Report Its Suggestions and Recommendations for Improvement Therein", July, 1938, P. 13.

who are indifferent to, purposely interfere with, and intentionally obstruct justice. These "official" violations involve every type of agent of justice. Among these most commonly known are police and detectives,⁽¹⁾ magistrates,⁽²⁾ professional bondsmen,⁽³⁾ prosecuting attorneys,⁽⁴⁾ jurors,⁽⁵⁾ judges,⁽⁶⁾ court procedure involving: policemen clerks, prosecutors, and judges;⁽⁷⁾ and numerous other persons in various ways.⁽⁸⁾

It is very evident that when graft, political corruption, favoritism, prejudice, indifference, ignorance, and incompetency combine, they will tend to oppress disproportionately the more poverty stricken and uninfluentia elements in the community. Although all people suffer from such administration of criminal law, the very methods used to make justice lame and blind are themselves evidences of the fact that Negroes suffer unequally in this respect.

30. CRIME

As of May 31, 1940, there were 4,974 men and women in all county prisons in the State; 1,692 of them were Negroes.⁽⁹⁾ Thus, while the Negroes were only approximately 4.7% of the total State population, they supplied 34% of the total county

(1) Op. cit.
PP. 24-27; (2) PP. 28-30; (3) 31-35; (4) PP. 36-41; (5)
PP. 42-55; (6) PP. 56-62; (7) PP. 63-76; (8) PP. 116 et seq.

(9) This data was prepared for the Commission by Mr.
LoRoy C. Schaeffer, Statistician, State Department
of Welfare.

prison population. In other words, Negroes contributed to the 1940 county prison population of the State more than seven times their proportion in the total population. 203 of the 285 women who were in county prisons were colored. Hence, Negro women supplied 71% of the total female county prison population which is more than fifteen times their ratio in the total population. Our 1939 and 1941 samplings of the total county prison populations are essentially the same as the 1940 records. County statistics are very significant, since in Pennsylvania, persons may be committed to county jails and workhouses for commitments longer than one year. In actual fact, it means that county jails and workhouses in Pennsylvania overlap state and federal prisons.

In 1937, Negroes constituted 27.4% of the total male felony prison population in all State and federal prisons and reformatories of the nation. In that same year, Negroes constituted 28% of the total male felony prison population in the State and federal prisons, and reformatories of Pennsylvania. In 1938, Negro inmates were 25.8% of the total male felony prison population in all of the State and federal prisons, and reformatories of the nation; and in 1938, Negro inmates were 25.7% of the total male felony prison population of the State and federal prisons, and reformatories in Pennsylvania. Taken annually, during the last decade, there was considerable variation in the proportional volume of Negro crime in Pennsylvania; never-

theless, during this period, it has ranged from four to six times his ratio in the State's total population. Since law violations often increase during war times, there may be an increase in the volume of law violations.

In 1940, the total prison population of the Western State Penitentiary, the Pennsylvania Industrial School, and the State Industrial Home for Women consisted of 3,679 persons; of this number, 961 were Negroes. Obviously, although Negroes constituted only 4.7% of the total population, they were 26.12% of the total prison population in these State penal institutions. Thus, Negroes contributed to crime at a rate of 5.5 times their proportion of the total population. Howbeit, an analysis of these data by offense will show that there are wide variations in the percentages and types of crimes committed by Negroes. In each case, however, the total number of crimes committed are in excess of the Negro's proportion in the total population.

Table XIII shows that only 29.34% of the Negro prisoners had "no other previous conviction" whereas 35.54% of the white prisoners had "no other previous convictions". On the other hand, 48.80% of the Negro prisoners had been convicted once before - and so on. Table XIII indicates that proportionately, Negro prisoners were more frequent repeaters than whites.

TABLE XIII

NUMBER OF PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS OF PRISONERS AT WESTERN,
HUNTINGDON, AND MUNCY

		<u>WHITE</u>		<u>NEGRO</u>		<u>TOTAL</u>		<u>TOTAL</u>	
		Men	Wo-	Men	Wo-	White	Negro	White	Negro
Total	3,679	2,548	170	896	92	2,718	961	100%	99.99
No Other	1,248	881	55	249	33	966	282	35.54	29.34
1 Previous Convictions	1,693	1,153	71	427	42	1,224	469	45.03	48.80
2 Previous Convictions	499	353	10	127	9	363	136	13.36	14.15
3 Previous Convictions	159	106	3	45	5	109	50	4.01	5.20
4 or more Convictions	80	55	1	21	3	56	24	2.06	2.50

In 1940, there were 1,958 parolees from the Eastern Penitentiary, the Western State Penitentiary, and the Pennsylvania Industrial School. Of this number, 458 or about 20% of them were colored. In addition thereto, the Board of Pardons granted 39 pardons, all of whom were white. It is observed that the Negro parolee rate is somewhat below his proportion in the total prison population. While our data on parole and pardon are incomplete, they do show, very definitely, that the 1940 trend is indicative of the facts covering a long period of years. As was pointed out above, the same general social factors, which operate against the Negro in other areas, work against him in the administration of justice. However, the new Board under the leadership of

Dr. Louis N. Robinson is expected to improve the whole system both in terms of efficiency and justice.

It is very significant that the percentage of the Negro prison population of the State is practically the same as national percentages. This obtains despite the fact that it is the weighted volume of southern criminal rates which raise the Negro national percentages so high. When all of the facts are considered, even excluding county prison populations, insofar as prison population can be taken as a measure of criminality, taken per 100,000, the crime rate of the Pennsylvania Negro is in excess of that of the Negroes in many southern states.

What are some of the underlying facts in the situation? When we analyze Negro crime rates by the place of birth of the criminal, where reared, sex, age, occupation, housing conditions, recreational facilities, and related factors, we begin to account for the Negro crime rate. Dean W. T. Root of the University of Pittsburgh summed up very well the fundamental environmental background of the Negro criminal in the Pittsburgh area more than a decade ago. The summary is still valid today and also for the State as a whole:

"All of the social conditions are unfavorable for the Negro, beginning with housing and ending with the thousand social humiliations produced by our caste system. In Pittsburgh, the Negroes occupy the poorest houses in the poorest districts, after both the house and the neighborhood are unsuitable for respectable people to occupy. When a house is too poor and too unsanitary for even the lowest type of foreigner, it is then permissible for the Negro to occupy

it at a very high rental, so high, in fact, that whole families are crowded into one room or two and sublet the beds when not actually in use by the family. Sanitation, morality, and common decency are violated by the very physical nature of the housing, lack of privacy, sewage and garbage disposal, the proximity of whole families to every known vice and crime. * * * The Negro criminal then is a victim of a vicious circle of social, biological, and economic causes; lack of education, no trade training commensurate with the intelligence he has; a set of moral, social and leisure habits adjusted to a rural Southern community; a victim of caste, forced to live in discarded houses of the dominant race; restricted in employment and social opportunity, the Negro is forced daily to feel inferiority and humiliation in a thousand ways. All this must be given consideration in judging his status in the criminal world." (1)

31. DELINQUENCY

According to a recent federal report, in 1937 there were 6,016 boys' delinquency cases in Allegheny County, Berks County, Montgomery County, and Philadelphia City and County. 2,178 or 36.23% of this number were Negro cases. During this same period, Negro girls contributed 379 or 44.8% of the 846 girls' delinquency cases in these same four counties. Combined, Negroes contributed 37.26% of the total delinquency cases in these four counties in 1937.

- (1) Reid, Ira De A., "Social Conditions of the Negro in the Hill District of Pittsburgh" - General Committee on the Hill Survey, Pittsburgh, 1930; PP. 68-70. Quoted from Root, W. T., "A Psychological and Educational Survey of 1,916 Prisoners in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania", University of Pittsburgh, (Thesis) 1927.

Even though it is impossible to bring these statistics up to date because of the unavailability of data, the above trend is very representative. Our samples from Pittsburgh, Chester, Norristown, Harrisburg, and the Philadelphia area indicate the representativeness of the 1937 statistical data. However, studies have shown that, for the most part, law enforcement officials and social workers located in those municipalities in which there are a very few Negroes indicate that Negro delinquency rates are low. Although in numerous instances, these professional observers gave no statistical data to support their statements, it is very significant that Negro youths were not conspicuous for law violations. On the contrary, in many instances, they were commended for their law observance.

Nevertheless, when taken as a whole, the four counties reporting in the statistics above represent 356,373 or 75.80% of the State's 470,112 Negro population. It is significant that the delinquency rates of Pennsylvania Negro children are higher than national percentages for Negro children. According to the most recent report covering juvenile delinquency data, in 1938, Negro children contributed approximately 20% of the total delinquency cases recorded by the 476 Juvenile Courts throughout the nation which reported to the U. S. Children's Bureau. In 1939,⁽¹⁾ there was no signifi-

(1)

"Children in the Courts, 1938 and 1939", U. S. Children's Bureau, Publication No. 28, Washington, 1942, PP. 9,12.

cant change in the percentage. So far as can be reliably estimated, from 1938 to 1942 Negro delinquency rates in the State ranged from ~~three~~ to eight times their proportion in the total population.

In order to get a better idea of the general magnitude of the problem involved, a detailed study is presented of delinquency in Philadelphia. There were 3,982 cases of boy delinquencies under 16 years of age in 1939; of this number, 1,692 or 42.49% of them were Negro boy cases. In the same year, 204 or 49.0% of the 415 cases of girl delinquencies under 16 years were Negroes. To this picture, we must add the problem of dependent and neglected children. In 1939, despite the fact that Negroes constituted only approximately 15% of the total population of school age, 306 or 28.35% of the total 1,079 dependent cases were Negroes; approximately 24% of the neglected cases were Negroes.

In general, the welfare of Negro children in the State presents many very serious problems. For instance, taking the State as a whole, in 1941, proportionately, 6.23 times as many Negroes as whites received Aid to Dependent Children assistance. Thus, the amount of aid needed in this field greatly exceeded that proportionately needed by the children of other races. On the qualitative side there are still greater problems. Those agencies which serve Negro children exclusively are in great need of funds. For instance, the two agencies in the Philadelphia area which serve three-fourths of all dependent and neglected Negro children render

these services to colored children only and receive nearly all of their support from the funds derived from the courts. It is reliably known from audited reports that the large agencies which serve white children have combined funds which are approximately twice as much per child as the combined income of the two agencies serving Negro children only. In other words, large agencies serving white children receive as much money from a combination of: donations, income from endowment, the Community Fund, and state-aid as they receive from the courts. This enables them to spend about twice as much per child as the two agencies serving Negro children only. In a great measure, this represents what happens all over the State. Moreover, there are several communities in which Negro children would have to be sent out of their respective communities in order to receive the same type of services which white children may receive in their respective resident communities. Finally, it must be kept in mind that, as a rule, the percentage of Negro children receiving aid because of dependency and neglect is hardly a function of the need of Negro children for this aid. Very often, these percentages are expressions of the degree to which there are facilities for Negro children and the degree to which their needs have been officially and somewhat properly adjusted.

In spite of the need of facilities for dependent and neglected Negro children, there is much greater inadequacy regarding facilities and services for Negro delinquents. It is the well known experience of court officials that the

shortage is so great that scores of Negro delinquents cannot be committed to institutions because of the lack of facilities. Although it would help considerably to raise the Negro quotas in the institutions serving both racial groups, this would only reduce the problem; it would not completely solve it. The existing institutions do not have sufficient facilities to supply the need. These institutions must be greatly expanded or other institutions must be established.

Next, even in peace time, the problems of Negro working mothers regarding the care of their children were very serious. Due to the war effort, these problems have been magnified. There is an alarming inadequacy of day care for the children of Negro working mothers. In the larger cities, there are some provisions but they are seriously inadequate. Nevertheless, in numerous smaller cities and towns, such care is non-existent. Even on grounds of the needs of the war effort, something must be done to ease this situation.

From the point of view of reducing delinquency rates, it is obvious that dependent and neglected children are more likely to become delinquent than are children of the normal population. Their care, therefore, is very important from the point of view of the reduction of delinquency as well as from humanitarian angles. It is obvious that a serious shortage of facilities and services for delinquents tend to increase recidivism and also to increase delinquency among others. Children of working mothers, without the proper supervision, are known to be a source of a number of problems including law violation. Hence,

there must be an improvement in the general child welfare services to and for Negro children. In so much as rates of law violation generally increases during and immediately after wars, it would seem wise that a coordinated plan involving all agencies serving children be presented to the General Assembly which would adequately provide for every child in the State irrespective of race, religion, or national origin.

To the above, it must be added that whether the cause or the effect, or both, broken homes contribute considerably to the problems of dependency, neglect, and delinquency. Whereas, 68.80% of the parents of white offenders were living together at home, only 30.20% of the parents of Negro offenders were so fortunate. On the contrary, of the 342 delinquent boys and girls of both races whose parents were divorced, or one of whose parents deserted the other, or who separated for other reasons, 210 or 61.40% of them were Negroes. Of 577 delinquent boys and girls of both races, one or both of whose parents are dead, 281 or 49.74% of them were Negroes. In other words, although Negro delinquents were only 42.40% of the total delinquents, they were 54.08% of the total number of delinquent boys and girls who were not living with their respective parents at the time of conviction. In 1939, the Philadelphia Housing Authority made a study of 70,051 families with reference to broken homes. It was found that whereas 56.5% of the white families were composed of both parents living with their children, only 34.1% of the Negro families were so fortunate. Moreover, comparatively, there were nearly

twice as many Negro as white families with only one parent present. Hence, this larger and general study indicates the representativeness of the court data given above.

From Table XIV, it is observed that whereas only 41.49% of the Negro boys were first offenders, 66.68% of the white boys were so classified. Hence, whereas only 33.32% of the white boys were repeaters, 58.51% of the Negro boys were so classified. 60.62% of the Negro girls were first offenders and 39.38% were repeaters; however, 69.70% of the white girls were first offenders and only 30.30% of them were repeaters.

TABLE XIV

RECIDIVISM

	<u>N U M B E R</u>			<u>P E R C E N T</u>	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Total (under 16)	3,584	1,909	1,675	100%	100%
<u>BOYS' CASES:</u>					
First Offenders	1,968	1,273	695	66.68	41.49
Repeaters	1,616	639	980	33.32	58.51
<u>GIRLS' CASES:</u>					
First Offenders	255	138	117	69.70	60.62
Repeaters	136	60	76	30.30	39.38

The higher recidivism of Negro boys and girls is largely explained in terms of (1) the imperfections and inadequacies in the administration of criminal justice; rather inadequate police protection and poorer probation services and facilities for Negroes, and a relative lack of placement facilities for Negro children - both delinquent and dependent and neglected; (2) a higher percentage of broken homes among Negroes; (3)

poorer housing and related problems; (4) a relatively greater lack of recreational facilities; (5) a relatively greater number and variety of commercial dance halls, cigar stores, tap rooms, beer gardens, cabarets, pool rooms, and similar commercialized recreational agencies which tend to promote law violation; (6) a relatively larger number of places of vice; and (7) higher unemployment rates and relatively restricted employment. Therefore, the Negro community is not as conducive to rehabilitation as is the white community.

Obviously, most of the factors listed above tend not only to promote recidivism, but they tend also to produce "first offenders". In a report to the American Law Institute, Professor Thorsten Sellin, one of the nation's leading criminologists, concluded, in part:⁽¹⁾

"(1) The likelihood of a person's becoming a second offender is many times greater than that of his becoming a first offender;

"(2) the probability of a person's committing a subsequent crime increases with each new conviction.

"(3) juvenile delinquents in considerable numbers commit new offenses during the youth period."

With reference to the problem of securing adequate recreational facilities as a preventive measure in curbing delinquency rates among Negro youth, there is a great inadequacy of both public and private recreational facilities. More

(1) "The Criminality of Youth" American Law Institute, May, 1940; Philadelphia; P. 116

recreational facilities and services are needed in those neighborhoods having the highest delinquency rates. In Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Chester, it is very obvious that the increase in recreational facilities and services for Negroes has not kept pace with the increase in the Negro population. In spite of the fact that there is an inadequacy of recreational facilities and services for all citizens in the State, this shortage is greater for Negroes than for the general population. Howbeit, admitting that, under proper supervision, adequate recreational facilities and services will reduce juvenile delinquency, one must remember that recreational facilities and services do not exist, per se, for this purpose. Their validity must rest only partly on these grounds. Hence, their inadequacy is only one contributing factor to Negro juvenile delinquency.

In order to get a more detailed graphic picture of the socio-economic status underlying the disproportionately high Negro juvenile delinquency rates Table XV is presented:

TABLE XV

ARREST DATA ON PHILADELPHIA BOYS UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE
APPEARING IN HOUSE OF DETENTION - 1940

	Total	%	White	%	Negro	%
Number of arrests	3275	100.	1702	51.9	1573	48.1
Number of Individuals	2702	100.	1538	56.9	1164	43.1
Number of Families	2536	100.	1437	56.6	1099	43.4
Cases adjusted H. of D.	2191	100.	1188	54.2	1003	45.8
Cases held for Court	1084	100.	514	47.4	570	52.6
Individuals Committed	301	100.	116	38.5	185	61.5

Table XV continued:

OFFENSES (1)	Total	%	White	%	Negro	%
Disorderly Conduct	438	13.4	171	10.1	267	16.9
Stealing	1226	37.4	577	34.0	649	41.3
Malicious Mischief	649	19.9	448	26.4	201	12.8
Trespassing	266	8.1	196	11.6	70	4.4
Truancy	66	2.0	46	2.1	20	1.3
Incorrigibility	93	2.8	29	1.8	64	4.2
Runaway	331	10.1	144	8.5	187	11.9
Assault & Battery	104	3.2	38	2.3	66	4.2
Sex	96	2.9	51	2.9	45	2.8
Miscellaneous	6	.2	2	.1	4	.2
	3275	100.	1702	100.	1573	100.

HOME STATUS OF BOYS ARRESTED

Living with Both Parents	1563	57.8	959	61.9	604	61.8
Living with one Parent	502	18.6	187	12.3	315	27.1
Living with Step-parent	159	5.9	50	3.4	109	9.3
Living with Foster Parents	81	2.9	29	1.9	52	4.5
Both Parents Away or Deceased	48	1.8	20	1.3	28	2.4
Unknown	349	13.0	293	19.2	56	4.9
	3275	100.	1538	100.	1164	100.

SCHOOL STATUS OF BOYS ARRESTED

First Offenders:

Normal	461	27.5	307	27.9	154	27.4
Retarded (2)	838	50.7	495	45.0	343	61.0
Unknown	362	21.8	297	27.1	65	11.6
	1661	100.	1099	100.	462	100.

Repeaters:

Normal	108	10.6	53	12.1	55	9.1
Retarded (2)	879	84.1	365	83.1	514	85.4
Unknown	54	5.3	21	4.8	33	5.5
	1033	100.	439	100.	602	100.

- (1) While there are many more than ten specific offenses for which juveniles are apprehended, for purposes of simplification they have been classified into above general headings.
- (2) Those boys placed in grade one or more years behind grade they would normally be expected to attend.

From Table XV, it is observed that Negro boys under sixteen years of age contributed to juvenile delinquency at a rate of nearly four times their proportion in the total population. Moreover, proportionately, more Negro than white boys were held for court. Likewise, proportionately, more Negro than white boys were committed. The more serious nature of their law violations and their greater recidivism are thereby probably indicated. Although Negro boys were arrested for stealing in 41.3% of the total instances, only 34% of all white boy arrests were for stealing. Whereas 26.4% of all white boy arrests involved malicious mischief, this was true of only 12.8% of the Negro boys. It is observed that retardation is very definitely a greater factor among Negro than white boys. However, it would appear that next in importance to the disproportionately high delinquency rates of Negro boys, their comparatively more abnormal home status is the most appalling factor to be considered. When one relates broken homes and economic status to residence in blighted and slum areas, it is not difficult to understand most of the problems of Negro children who violate the law.

The habitat of Negro delinquent boys under sixteen years of age is explained sufficiently by Table XVI below:

TABLE XVI						
ARRESTS OF BOYS UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE APPEARING IN THE HOUSE						
OF DETENTION - PHILADELPHIA - JANUARY - MAY, 1941						
(Incomplete statistics)	Total	%	White	%	Negro	%
Number of Arrests	1437	100.0	312	54.1	675	45.9
Cases adjusted H. of D.	953	100.0	558	58.2	400	41.8
Cases Held for Court	529	100.0	254	46.1	275	53.9
Individuals Committed	158	100.0	60	38.0	98	62.0

continued - over

Table XVI continued:
Negro Arrests by Area - (1941) Five months

South Philadelphia - East of Broad	5.6%
South " - West of Broad	23.6%
North Central " - East of Broad	15.7%
North Central " - West of Broad	27.2%
West " - South of Market	3.4%
West " - North of Market	20.0%
Germantown & Chestnuthill	1.5%
Manayunk	.1%
Frankford & Northeast Philadelphia	.1%
North Philadelphia	2.8%
	100.0%

In general, delinquency rates in Philadelphia are greater in slum and blighted areas. In this regard, it merely follows the national and international pattern. Therefore, along with other factors, the case for better housing is established.

The Municipal Court has made an excellent study of the situation and has issued a statement thereon. A portion of this statement reads:

"The care of Negro children has become, during the past 10 years, a problem of increasing concern to the Municipal Court of Philadelphia. The situation is one of such major importance, not only to the children in question, but also to the community as a whole, that prompt and effective action to remedy it is essential. Let us examine such information as is available as to the size and seriousness of the problem, and as to the means now available for meeting it.

"In the past 25 years there has been a short rise in the Negro population of Philadelphia. In the age group from 7 to 15 Negro children were 6% of the total school population in 1920, and this proportion has since risen to 10% in 1930, 12% in 1935, and 15.5% in 1940. During the period from 1930 to 1940, while the number of white children from 7 to 15 years of age in the Philadelphia schools decreased 18% the number of Negro children increased 38%. In short, Philadelphia has been losing each year over 5,000 white children and gaining annually over 1,000 Negro children. While in 1920 one child in 15 was Negro, today one child in 6 is.

"Having in mind the present numbers and the steady growth of the Negro population, let us next attempt to examine, from what information may now be obtained, the size and seriousness of the problem from the viewpoint of juvenile delinquency and dependency."

"The total number of delinquent children in Philadelphia in 1920 was 4270; in 1930, 6280; in 1935, 4704, and in 1940, 3513. In the same years these figures included delinquent Negro children as follows: 1920, 676; 1930, 1446; 1935, 1742; 1940, 1513. In other words, Negroes constituted in 1920 - 16% of all juvenile delinquency cases; in 1930, 23%; in 1935, 37% and in 1940, 43%. It will also be observed that, for instance, in 1920 when Negro children were 15.5% of the total school population, Negro juvenile delinquency was 43% of all juvenile delinquency cases, or in other words, the Negro delinquency rate was almost three times the average delinquency rate, and was four times the delinquency rate among white children along. What is more, Negro children were involved in 51% of the more serious offenses.

"The ratio of delinquency has varied widely; for instance, in 1920, 43 Negro children of the ages 7 to 15 were arrested out of every 1000 Negro children of these ages. This number increased to 48 in 1930, declined to 43 in 1932, reached the all time high of 50 in 1934, and has since declined again to 37 in 1940.

"The problem caused by the disproportionate increase in Negro cases is further reflected in the number of Negro children requiring foster home care or institutional placement. In 1930, 3% of all delinquent cases were committed to agencies or individuals, and half of these cases were Negroes. In 1940 again 3% of all delinquent cases were committed to agencies or individuals, but the Negro proportion had increased to 75%.

"In 1930, 7% of all delinquent cases were committed to institutions and of that number 24% were Negroes. In 1940, 9% of all delinquent cases were committed to institutions, and of that number the proportion of Negroes had increased to 45%. The following table shows not only a proportionate, but an

actual increase in the number of Negro children requiring foster home or institutional placement.

"Comparison of Disposition of Juvenile Delinquency Cases (Under 16 years of age) for the years 1940 and 1930 and

a

"Comparison of Cases and Percentage of Cases in which Negroes were involved in the years of 1940 and 1930.

	Total Cases disposed of	no. of dispos- ed in	No. of Negroes Involved in Cases Disposed of in	Percentage of Cases in which Negroes were Involved		
	1940	1930	1940	1930	1940	1930
Children dismissed and not remaining under supervision of the Court	2800	5517	1225	1238	44%	22%
Children remaining under supervision of Court	954	936	526	401	55%	43%
Children committed to Agencies or Individuals	149	231	111	107	74%	46%
Children committed to institutions & referred without commitment to parole officers	432	600	195	128	45%	21%
Children referred to other courts : cases in which restitution or reparation was ordered	22	233	6	46	27%	20%
	<u>4357</u>	<u>7517</u>	<u>2063</u>	<u>1920</u>		

"In cases involving dependency, neglect, custody and mental defect, the proportion of Negroes (of the ages of 7 to 15) is also disproportionately high, as compared with the percentage of white children, but here the situation is not as much out of line as in delinquency cases. For instance, in 1920 when 6% of the children (between 7 and 15) were Negroes, 10% of the cases of dependency, neglect and custody involved Negroes. In 1930, when the Negro juvenile population was 10% of the whole, 24% of these cases involved Negroes. In 1935 the Negro population was 12% and the Negro dependency., etc., cases were 22%; and in 1940 when the Negro population was 15.5% of the total, the Negro cases were 27% of all dependency, etc., cases. While new applications in dependency cases have decreased from 4280 in 1931 to 1981 in 1940, a decrease of 54%, and while there was

a substantial decrease in the total number of Negro cases over the same period, nevertheless Negro cases were 27% of the total in 1940 as compared to 24% in 1930." (1)

Table XVII gives an analysis of the disposition of the 1939 cases under eighteen years of age. It will be noted that, though Negro boys contributed 41.49% of the total boy cases under eighteen, only 37.27% of the total dismissed cases were Negroes. Table XVII shows further that, in proportion to the total number of arrests, fewer Negro boys were dismissed than white boys; that in proportion to the total number of arrests, Negro boys were put on probation more often than white boys but a larger percentage of Negro boys were ordered to pay restitution; and that proportionately more Negro boys were committed to institutions than white boys.

TABLE XVII
DELINQUENCY CASES

	N U M B E R			P E R C E N T	
	Total	White	Negro	White	Negro
Total (under 18)	4,731	2,768	1,963		
<u>BOYS' CASES:</u>					
Dismissed	3,099	1,944	1,155	62.73	37.27
Probation	1,006	496	510	49.30	50.70
Ordered to pay restitution	45	19	26	42.22	57.78
Sentence Suspended	-	-	-	-	-
Referred to other Court	4	-	4	-	100%
Referred to Clinic	-	-	-	-	-
Disposition Pending	-	-	-	-	-
Committed to Institutions & Agencies	577	309	268	53.55	46.45

GIRLS' CASES: continued over:

(1)

See Exhibit No. 11

Table XVII continued:

	N U M B E R			P E R C E N T	
	Total	White	Negro	White	Negro
Total (under 18)	532	297	235	51.03	48.97
<u>GIRLS' CASES:</u>					
Dismissed	301	153	148	50.80	49.97
Probation	148	75	73	50.68	49.32
Ordered to pay restitution	-	-	-	-	-
Sentence Suspended	-	-	-	-	-
Referred to other Court	2	-	2	-	100%
Referred to Clinic	-	-	-	-	-
Disposition Pending	-	-	-	-	-
Committed to Institutions & Agencies	131	69	62	52.67	47.33

From another point of view, the following analysis, as to boys' cases, provides a more vivid picture than Table XVII.

(a) Dismissed:

70.2% of all white cases,
58.8% of all colored cases;

(b) Probation:

17.5% of all white cases,
25.9% of all colored cases;

(c) Committed to institutions and agencies:

11.1% of all white cases,
13.6% of all colored cases.

The disposition of delinquency cases by the court should be determined according to the individual needs of each delinquent and the community facilities and services for delinquents. The indications are that the Negro boys arrested had a larger proportion of repeaters than white boys, which fact may account considerably for the discrepancy between 41.49% of total arrests and 37.27% of the total dismissed cases as Table XVII indicates. Likewise, it may be partly responsible for the fact that 4 Negro and no white delinquents were committed to courts.

32. OLDER BOY OFFENDERS

For very obvious reasons, the offenses committed by boys between the ages of 16 to 18 have become known as "older boys' crimes". Since our Philadelphia data have dealt only with boys and girls under 18 years of age, the succeeding years up to 21 years of age should be treated. In order to prevent too much overlapping, older boys' crime from the period 1930 to 1925 inclusively will be treated. Of the 4,165 older boys committed to jail during this period, 1,784 or 42% of them were Negro boys. From reliable sources it has been found that prior to 1930, whereas Negroes were but 11.3% of the total population, 48% of the older boys committed were Negroes. The decrease of 6% is significant in that it is in harmony with the trend of more recent figures; for, in 1940, Negro older boys contributed 1,679 or 38.42% of the 4,369 arrests of older boys in Philadelphia.

It is very interesting to note that the 20th, 36th, 30th, 24th, and 7th wards contributed most to the older boy offenses. With very few exceptions, these same wards have held the lead for more than a decade. Including both white and Negro older boy offenders, these wards contribute to law violation at a rate which is more than twice their ratio in the total city population. However, a study of density, housing, employment, and related factors will reveal that these wards are among the most unfortunate in the city.

In 1935, the Civilian Crime Prevention Unit of Philadelphia made an exhaustive study of 1,100 cases of Philadelphia older

boy offenders; 905 of them were white and the remaining 195 were Negroes. 58.97% of these Negro boys did not reach the 8th grade; 81.03% of them left school during their sixteenth year; 63% of them were retarded; 83.08% of them in varying degrees, had been guilty of truancy. Only 20.05% of them were in their normal grades according to the Philadelphia age-grade standards. 42.56% of the Negro boys had never been employed; and 35% of them had held only one job. In terms of church affiliation, 90.02% of the Negro boys were Protestants; 47.69% of them were Baptists; only 30.26% of them attended church regularly. 50.26% of them were disinterested in religion; and 79.49% of them had no social relationships at church. Only 36.41% of them lived at home with both their respective parents.

24% of the mothers of these Negro boys worked. Table XVIII is more indicative of the comparative economic status of the two groups of boys:

TABLE XVIII
ECONOMIC STATUS

	NUMBER		PERCENT	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
A. Very good	103	0	11.38	0
B. Self-sustaining	304	26	37.57	13.33
C. Marginal	190	55	20.99	28.21
D. On relief	210	103	6.35	32.82
E. No report	62	11	23.20	5.41

The 1938 study sponsored by the Crime Prevention Association and the Crime Prevention Division of the Bureau of Police and directed by Mr. Thomas A. Merryweather, Executive Director of the Crime Prevention Association, disclosed, in part:

"Of 29,587 older boys arrested from 1934-1937 inclusive, 22,284 were white and 7,295, or 33 per cent, were Negro. In this connection it should be noted that Negroes number approximately but 13 per cent of the City's population.

"A study of this data shows that in some offenses the Negro numbers over 50 per cent of those arrested, and that there had been an increase in delinquency among older Negro boys during these four years. To those who have been in touch with the problem, the reason for this is definite and clear.

"A study of the nationality of the fathers of 8352 individuals was made. Next to boys whose fathers were native born (Negro or white) the Italian group ranks next, followed by Polish and Russian.

"No one can ignore the fact, shown by this survey, that more constructive planning must be provided in those areas where there is a large percentage of Negro population, particularly in fields of employment and recreation." (1)

The crux of the Negro delinquency situation in Philadelphia, as elsewhere in the State, has been well expressed by Dr. J. C. Reinemann, District Supervisor, Probation Department, Juvenile Division, Municipal Court of Philadelphia, who, in a recent address referring to the urgent problem of Negro delinquency in Philadelphia, said:

(1) Exhibit No. 17

"This does not indicate a biological problem, nor has it anything to do with the superiority or inferiority of one race or the other. The thought-provoking statistical result can solely be explained by the socio-economic situation in which the Negro citizens find themselves. These findings should not only be analyzed, but should lead to constructive proposals for an efficient curb on juvenile delinquency in general and among the colored group in particular. Such proposals ought to include the demand for an increase of recreational facilities, playgrounds, boys' clubs, and settlement activities."(1)

33. Factors Conditioning Negro Law Violation

One could continue to present statistics treating law violations but the picture would not be changed fundamentally. The chief factors involving the volume of Negro crime and delinquency cannot be dealt with by ordinary statistical methods. Solutions to the problem must be sought elsewhere. Behavior, whether good or bad, is not a complete entity per se; it is a function of the interaction of the individual and his environment. Such a point of view does not deny but rather admits personal responsibility for one's behavior. It does, however, emphasize the part which environment plays in determining it. Upon this assumption, there are several interrelated factors which underlie the excessive volume of Negro crime and delinquency. The major factors, so far as the data of this report indicate, will be stated in such a manner as to imply remedial suggestions.

(1) Reinemann, Dr. J. O., "Stop-Children of the Community" THE PENNSYLVANIA PROBATION AND PAROLE QUARTERLY, July, 1940; Volume 1, Number 25, PP. 15-16

1. Racial discrimination in the administration of justice tends to promote law violations among Negroes.

In proportion to other citizens, so far as Negroes are concerned, misfeasance and malfeasance are disproportionately frequent in the administration of the criminal law. Thus, discriminative forces are so universal and powerfully operative that neither the number of arrests and the alleged reasons therefor, nor the number of convictions, nor yet the jail or prison population afford racially a proportionately accurate picture of the volume of Negro crime and delinquency.

Paradoxical as it may seem, with the exception of crimes against the person or property of whites, law enforcement involving Negroes is often too lax. In many instances, even high officials assume that petty larceny, lewdness, and similar crimes are types of anti-social activities which all but characterize Negroes; they often act as though there is no need of much concern unless whites are involved. Moreover, your Commission has been informed by reliable citizens of both races that, in most municipalities in the State, "official protection" in certain forms of vice is the most frequent and often the only "political plum" given Negro politicians. A study of unmixed Negro neighborhoods throughout the State tends without exception, to confirm this opinion. As compared with mixed and all-white neighborhoods, all-Negro neighborhoods have an excessive number of tap rooms, unsupervised pool rooms, bawdry houses, "bootleg liquor" places, gambling places, and similar establishments which either tend to promote law violations or are themselves illegal.

In the enforcement of the law, legality must not be overlooked. Law enforcement officers themselves can be ruthless and illegal. The "right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures" is guaranteed all American citizens by the Fourth Amendment of the Federal Constitution. Without search warrants, and often without sufficient evidence of suspect, police have entered Negro homes, hotels, and other Negro-occupied dwellings and have made mass arrests. In the vast majority of instances, the persons involved in these mass arrests are accused of drunkenness, "the number racket" and lewdness. The principle of legality is so fundamental to American liberty that it should never be violated in such instances. No one can condone such unconstitutional methods. Many leading citizens of both races stated that these arrests were due to political "reprisals" and occur excessively only when "official protection" has been removed.

The "third degree", a means of obtaining testimony from an arrested person under duress by use of various forms of torture, is ruthless and illegal. Judging from the various types of evidences, it seems that Negroes suffer disproportionately from this kind of brutality. Law enforcement officers should apply the best available scientific methods and procedures to bring culprits to justice in a legal manner. There can be no excuse for illegality in the administration of the criminal law.

In Philadelphia especially, a practice known as "cold storage" is another type of illegality of which Negroes complain and feel that it is applied to them proportionately more often than to whites. Regarding "cold storage", the Ruth Commission states:

"Testimony before the Commission discloses the fact that persons arrested by the Philadelphia Police are sometimes held incommunicado and are not permitted to see friends, relatives, or counsel for several days at a time and are not slated or brought before a Magistrate during that time. This is a clear violation of the law and no legislation is needed to remedy the situation." (1)

2. The growth and distribution of the Negro population in terms of nativity and urbanity and such minor factors: as the ratio between the sexes, the number of males of certain age-groupings, and related factors tend to promote crime and delinquency.

In the period following World War I, there was a large influx of poverty-stricken, untrained, and uneducated southern Negroes. The influx was so great that, proportionately, there are today more Negro residents in Pennsylvania who were born in other states than there are whites. In 1930, only 33.9% of Pennsylvania's Negro population was born in the State, whereas 79.0% of the Pennsylvania's white population was born in the State. Only 7.4% of Pennsylvania's white population was born in other states in the union; and 13.4% of the State's white

(1) "Report to the Governor of the Joint Legislature Commission to Investigate the Administration of Criminal Justice and Report Its Suggestions and Recommendations for Improvement Therein", July, 1938, P. 25

population was foreign-born. 65.0% of Pennsylvania's Negro population was born in other states in the union and slightly more than 1% was foreign born.⁽¹⁾ Thus, approximately two-thirds of Pennsylvania's 1930 Negro population was born elsewhere.

With reference to the influence of this situation on juvenile delinquency, Dr. J. O. Reinemann stated:

"What about the children of those Negroes who came North? A situation in some way comparable to that of the so-called "second generation" of Eastern and Southern European immigrants arose. The set of standards acquired by the parents at their place of birth and youth in rural environments clashed with the set of standards easily adopted by the children (primarily through contacts outside the home) in the Northern urban environments. Cultural conflicts within the home were the natural results. Poverty, slum conditions and intra-familial conflicts have been responsible for broken homes. It is, therefore, small wonder that among delinquent Negro children the percentages of broken home conditions have been considerably higher than among white delinquent juveniles." (2)

Unfortunately, long before the periods of sudden influx, Negro discriminative patterns had already been established in most municipalities of the State. Hence, these migrants fell heir to and, in many instances, gave an occasion for the crystallization of discriminative practices against Negroes. Consequently, they were crowded into the already sub-standardly

(1) NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1920-32, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1936; Table 11, P. 24.

(2) Address delivered before the Annual Conference of the Penna. State Association of Probation and Parole in Harrisburg, April, 1942, on the "Treatment of the Negro Delinquent."

housed areas in which police protection, social facilities and services were not commensurate with and properly adjusted to their needs. These migrants came from typically southern areas to a typically "northern" State without sufficient transition in either time or place. As was pointed out above, 65.0% of the Negroes in Pennsylvania in 1930 were born in other states. Approximately 94% of Pennsylvania's out-of-state Negroes were born in the South. Moreover, in a very large number of instances, they came from a rural to an urban industrial area and were ill-adjusted to their new environment which itself was, too often, very conducive to law violations.

In Chester, Philadelphia, and Harrisburg, the staff made sample studies regarding certain aspects of Negro migration. Due to the labor demands of large industrial concerns, many Negroes were recruited to Pennsylvania in groups. Others came as heads of families and sent for their families and relatives soon after their arrival here. Because of housing scarcity, 54% of these new migrants obtained housing in different neighborhoods from the friends and relatives who were instrumental in having them migrate here. The high mobility of all urban populations and especially that of the Negro urban population, the anonymity of the city and its lack of facilities with which to integrate new Negro migrants, all tended to contribute to the fact that for one reason or another, 51% of these newcomers did not connect themselves with more than one religious, fraternal, social, educational, or civic organization until they had been here more than a year. Very often,

the first personal contact of the adult newcomer was with an energetic politician whose sole interest was vote-getting. On the whole, for any number of reasons, the adult newcomers were not integrated properly into their new environment.

Since the heavy industries, mining, and similar job situations induced Negroes to come to the State, the Negro population is overwhelmingly urban. Thus, in 1890, the Pennsylvania Negro population was 28.5 rural and 71.5 urban; in 1900, it was 23.3 rural and 76.7 urban; in 1910, it was 19.4 and 80.6 respectively; in 1920, it was 15.7 and 84.3 respectively. In 1930, 86.6% of the Negro population was urban, whereas, only 66.9% of the State's white population was urban. For the purposes of this discussion, it would be more appropriate to add the Negro urban and rural-non-farm populations. In such a case, the 1930 Negro population of the State was 99% non-farm; in 1940 it was 98.73% non-farm. Whereas, the white population of the State in 1940 was only 65.42% urban, the Negro population was 85.55% urban.

Criminologists, jurists, psychiatrists, social workers, and sociologists, have long established the fact that urbanization and its consequent mechanization tend to increase the volume of crime. Bringing together, as it does, people of different racial, linguistic, religious, economic, and ideological backgrounds, urbanization simultaneously intensifies the need for laws and increases the number of laws to be violated. The high mobility of the city contributes to anonymity and impersonality; which tend to weaken one's sense of

responsibility to his neighbor. These and other factors tend to make it more difficult to enforce the law. Finally, a multiplicity of complex factors tend to develop in an urban population more of a lack of "respect for law" than is true of a rural population.

Winthrop D. Lane in "What Makes Crime", one of the widely distributed PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLETS, states:

"Reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, however, show in general that the larger the city, the more crime in proportion to the population. * * * The rate for the smallest cities is only half that of the largest. We may conclude from this that there is more crime in the city than in the country, and that there is something about life in the cities that helps to produce crime." (1)

In addition to nativity and urbanity, one may add that especially during the last two decades, proportionately, there have been more Negro males than white of the crime committing age. The nature of the employment causing Negroes to migrate to the State tends to support this fact. Moreover, the 1930 and 1940 census data emphasize this factor. Somewhat related to this problem is a minor factor; namely, that most often there is a disparity between the sexes among the Negro population. In 1920 and 1930, there was an excess of Negro males over females; in 1940, the reverse is true. However, the fact of a disproportionality between the sexes is not so much a cause of law violation per se as the causes which underlie the disparity between the sexes. The chief factors involved are

(1)

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the nature, location, and distribution of Negro employment opportunities. Therefore, taking all population factors into account, according to established sociological interpretations, the composition, growth, and distribution of the State's Negro population is such that it tends to promote law violation.

3. The unfavorable occupational status and related factors contribute both directly and indirectly to the excessive volume of Negro crime and delinquency.

As has been emphasized elsewhere, irrespective of interests, abilities, competency, and loyalty, Negroes have found it impossible to find responsible, well paying, and satisfying employment on a scale which is proportional to their numbers in the total population. Regarding the matter of being "up-graded" and fair occupational distribution, the "Negro Survey of Pennsylvania" made, under the auspices of the Department of Welfare, in 1927, states: ⁽¹⁾

"The incentive which the hope of promotion inspires will accomplish that which preaching, lecturing, abusing and even punishing have not yet accomplished."

It is known that persons of "average" income are more responsible, more law-abiding, and have a greater sense of belonging than persons of relief and sub-marginal income. Just as apprehended law violations have a very definite adverse effect upon most types of occupational classifications, the unemployment of and the menial employment of large numbers

of persons due to racial or other unjust reasons will tend to create in such persons a lack of self-respect, interest, the lack of a sense of responsibility, and a lack of community respect, subsequently, law violation follows.

The following statement is taken from an Exhibit prepared for the Commission by the Honorable Ralph H. Smith, Judge, Quarter Sessions Court, Pittsburgh, which reads in part:

"Economic pressure makes criminals of all kinds. Take a normal human being of average intelligence and even moderate emotional stability, deny him sufficient food - fail to give him work when he can earn money - keep him in idleness - what are the results? That individual sooner or later becomes a loafer and idler - a pool room habitue. Starve him long enough and he will 'break in and steal'. As a 'thief in the night' he will burglarize and rob. Many a murder has needed no more complex motive than the gnawing hunger of an empty stomach. Add to the lack of work opportunity a burning sense of injustice born of discrimination against him as a Negro. Now you see why occasionally in some localities the percentage of law violations by Negroes temporarily rises out of proportion to those of other racial groups. The Negro is not alone. Other groups have gone through this same thing. The 'hunkies' - 'the dumb Slovaks' - 'the shanty Irish' - 'the dirty Kikes' - 'the yellow dogs' - all those and many more have felt the cruel lash of group intolerance that doubled the force of the normal economic pressures and drove them into slums and ghettos of the large cities and 'across the tracks' to the 'wrong side of town' in the smaller towns and villages." (1)

When asked what he felt that private citizens and the State should do to reduce the disproportionally high Negro

(1) Exhibit No. 12

rate of law violation, Dr. Elin A. Palmquist, Executive Secretary of the Philadelphia Federation of Churches, said:

"They should remove all economic barriers if possible. That is, the colored man should have an equal opportunity with his white brother, providing he has equal capacities. No doors should be closed to him because of his color. This requires legal action upon the part of the state. As the above improvements are made, crime and its kindred evils would be reduced. The state should do much to improve the housing conditions which is one of the root evils of crime and disease." (1)

4. Due to the inter-dependent factors involved in discrimination and also inadequacies for all citizens, as compared with whites, there is a greater lack of facilities and services for Negroes pertaining to the administration of criminal justice.

As compared with other citizens, (a) there is a general inadequacy of services antecedent to court appearance; (b) a lack of sufficient variety and amount of penal facilities and services; (c) there is an inadequacy of parole, probation, and rehabilitative facilities and services. (d) Despite the fact that the various volunteer defender agencies in the State are doing laudable work, their legal services for the indigent are inadequate. Moreover, the provisions which our courts make for poverty-stricken defendants are also inadequate largely because the fees are too low to attract leading criminal lawyers and often because politics enter in the appointment of attorneys for the indigent. Therefore, taking all factors into considera-

(1) Exhibit No. 13

tion, the indigent defendant is inadequately provided for in the Commonwealth. (1)

"Consideration of tax support for legal aid is certainly important and vital. It would seem to me that tax funds would unquestionably have to be drawn upon if legal service, adequate in quantity and quality, is to be provided to the more densely settled portions of the United States. Regardless of the excellence and efficiency of private legal aid, I question strongly whether such societies can and should bear the burden that would be placed upon them were legal service to be made readily available to those in more unfavorable economic circumstances."

As has been indicated, many of the difficulties and inadequacies of Negroes arise out of a general lack of facilities and services for all citizens. It is also an acknowledge fact that the democratic and Christian conception of adequacy would eliminate unequal sufferings and discriminatory practices. The General Assembly can profit by reviewing and enacting much of the legislation suggested by its own Ruth Commission. It would greatly improve matters if the considerations involved in the program and objectives of the Pennsylvania Committee on Penal Affairs be examined with a view toward realization so far as lies within the scope of legislative enactment and administrative procedures:

(1) Cf. Report to the Governor of the Joint Legislature Commission, to Investigate the Administration of Criminal Justice and Report its Suggestions and Recommendations for Improvement Therein, P. 114.

"1. Obtaining a system of court procedure more swift in operation, more scientific in the diagnosis and treatment of the individual, more certain in the conviction of criminals, more responsive to reconstructive instead of punitive methods.

"2. Establishing court clinics as an essential part of the sentencing practice of each of the larger criminal courts of the State.

"3. Developing and expanding the juvenile court and probation system as a protective agency for children.

"4. Developing proper court procedure in the various counties for dealing efficiently with problems of domestic relations in order to promote greater stability of the home.

"5. Developing in the courts an adequate system of adult probation and parole for short term prisoners.

"6. Developing an adequate system of parole for long term offenders which will protect society as well as help individuals. Cooperating with the State Board of Parole in its program for the granting of parole, development of adequate supervision of conditionally liberated prisoners, and the selection of qualified personnel.

"7. Replacing county jails with industrial prison farms as soon as practicable.

"8. Developing a comprehensive plan for reformatories and penitentiaries that will (a) provide needed new state prisons and an industrial school for young men; and (b) permit proper individualization and variation in treatment for different groups.

"9. Providing sufficient facilities for the custodial care of women by developing services at the State Industrial Home for Women at Muncy and by erecting appropriate institutions for receiving short term women offenders.

"10. Increasing the facilities and providing adequate welfare and educational programs for the Pennsylvania Industrial School.

"11. Developing effective education, training and casework programs in institutions for children.

"12. Developing a program for the further classification and segregation of offenders including when necessary, the development of new services and institutions, together with an adequate system of prison labor and education adjusted to the needs of each class.

"13. Urging the use of psychiatric and psychological services for problems of behavior and delinquency in children, and for the use of adult offenders on probation, in institutions, or on parole from them.

"14. Developing the Pennsylvania Institution for Defective Delinquents as rapidly as possible.

"15. Promoting a modern system of mental examinations for offenders awaiting trial on charges of crime.

"16. Improving the personnel in the penal, probation and parole service; (a) through proper selection by the merit system; (b) through provision for adequate staff; and (c) through training and education on the job.

"17. Promoting concerted community action between public and private agencies for the control of delinquency and the better handling of behavior problems of adults and children.

"18. Developing an adequate system of criminal statistics for the State of Pennsylvania.

"19. Obtaining greater State supervision and control of State and local institutions and agencies for the care and treatment of offenders.

"20. Unifying the State correctional services through the establishment of a separate Department of Corrections, with power (1) to administer the penal and correctional institutions of the State, and (2) to coordinate the intra-mural and extra-mural penal services in the State.

"21. Urging the establishment of a place of detention for the untried absolutely apart from the tried and convicted, in Philadelphia." (1)

5. The existence of either or both physical and psychological segregation, all too common throughout the State especially in penal and correctional institutions, does great violence to the personalities of Negro delinquents and criminals and tends to increase their volume of law violations.

Much of the recidivism of Negroes is due to police brutality and segregation in correctional and penal institutions. Staff case studies have disclosed that these types of injustices stand out more vividly in the minds of Negro law violators than all others. This harm is irreparable. Interestingly enough, here, as in many other instances, segregation is at once a cause and an effect of law violation. Mr. Leon Thomas Stern, Secretary and Director of Research of the Pennsylvania Committee on Penal Affairs, a widely known expert in the field, states:

"It is tragically true that adult Negro offenders and the children and young delinquents among their number do not have facilities for their care and treatment that they should have. There is segregation of a sort in the training schools, correctional institutions and penal institutions. The segregated plan of treatment operates whether we have Negroes in separate institutions or Negroes in the institutions with whites. Sometimes the segregation is actually physical, with the Negroes in separate institutions, or in separate cell blocks, or in the case of juveniles, Negroes are housed on

(1) The Court and Correctional System of the State of Pennsylvania, November, 1942, P. 44.

separate floors. Sometimes the segregation is psychological with a differential in favor of the white group. The policy, for example, of some of our training schools refusing facilities to Negroes unless there are more than enough facilities for white children is revolting. With this program of considering white children and adults first must needs go a psychological differential of treatment, when the Negroes are admitted to institutions in which white adults and children are housed. One should examine this situation objectively to discover whether the program of treatment is one that the community wishes, or whether it is based on the racial philosophy of the administrator, the community assenting. For example, one administrator told me that the Negro should be treated in separate institutions, and dealt with only by white people, and that Negroes could never take part in a correctional program as officers or officials, even for their own group. I think that this is an unfortunate point of view. Of course, in order to meet that situation the Negro group must show, as I am sure they can, that they have persons who can give the kind of service the State needs." (1)

6. Due to discrimination in its many ramifications, the environmental and psychological background of the "typical Negro tends to promote excessive law violations.

In addition to the related factors mentioned or implied in items 1 - 5 above, there are other important factors which increase the likelihood of law violations among Negroes. That the typical Negro is sub-marginal and marginal has been emphasized many times. Such conditions have obtained despite the fact that a much higher percentage of Negro than white

mothers must work to supplement the family income; too often, her income has been the only income of the family. In 1930, there were 65,945 Negro women in Pennsylvania fifteen years and over who were gainfully employed; of this number 30,946 or 46.92% of them were married. To this we may add that 13,561 or 20.56% of these 65,945 working Negro women were either widowed or divorced. (1) Thus, more than two-thirds of the Negro female labor force in 1930 between the ages of 15 and over were either married, divorced, or widowed. Moreover, so far as we are able to judge, the 1930 data in this regard are not significantly different from those of 1910, 1920, and 1940. The implications of working mothers, and broken homes with their well known tendency to promote delinquency, are evident.

Students of law violation all over the nation are agreed that the general breakdown of the American home and family relationships under the strain of the depression, the modern machine age, late hours, movies, automobiles and the freedom of movement, etc., contribute more than anything else to the volume of law violations. As has been indicated elsewhere, through either the death of one or both parents, the separation or desertion of one or both parents, and through the problems of unmarried mothers, there are proportionately fewer normal homes and family associations among Negroes than among other

(1) NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1920-32, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1935, Table 14, P. 297.

citizens. The consequent influences upon the disproportionately high delinquency rates among Negroes are known.

Throughout this report, your Commission has emphasized the fact that Negroes are compelled to occupy the more overcrowded, blighted, and deteriorated neighborhoods and the more sub-standard dwellings of any neighborhood in which they live. Both room and land overcrowding tend to become harmful to health, morals, and morale. While crime may be attributed to a number of interrelated and complex factors, room and land overcrowding have a very marked adverse effect on the youth. Throughout the nation slum delinquency rates are many times higher than those of other areas in the respective cities. Interestingly enough, recent studies have shown that the slum environment has a greater adverse effect on delinquency than the physical condition of the sub-standard dwellings in which children live. Slum and blighted areas, because of their corrupting influences, numerous centers of vice and crime, inadequacy of recreational facilities, high percentage of broken homes, and related factors tend to promote delinquency.

With reference to the influence of housing on the excessive rates of Negro law violation, the Honorable Nochem S. Winnet, Judge, Municipal Court, Philadelphia and also Chairman of the Crime Prevention Association, wrote a letter to the Executive Director on August 11, 1942 which reads, in part:

"My contact with Negro delinquency and crime, both in the Court and in the work of the Crime Prevention Association, has often led me to be guilty of over-simplification. I have seen it grow almost invariably in the soil of in-

sanitary, inhuman, crowded housing conditions. I have cried out: 'Let us remove the blight of these slums and allow sunlight and air to filter in the lives of these human beings,' I forgot for the moment the years of prejudice, discrimination, and intolerance which forced this manner of life.

"To remove the ultimate causes is an extremely difficult job. Education and years will accomplish it; but to provide decent housing and decent recreation facilities should be an easy challenge to us who are the masters of the miracle of production. I despair sometimes at the time necessary to change opinions, to do away with misunderstanding, to abolish prejudice, but I no longer despair at the time and monies to build a Panama Canal, a Coulee Dam, 60,000 airplanes a year or to fight the Axis. And I will not despair at the physical problem of wiping out slum areas."

In this regard, the Honorable Sara M. Soffel, Judge, Quarter Sessions Court, Pittsburgh, in an Exhibit prepared for the Commission, states, in part:

"In his plan 'Dead End', which was later made into a movie, Elmer Rice illustrates well the influence of slum environment on young children. I know from personal experience that the conclusions that he so dramatically presents are not exaggerated. I have seen a map of Allegheny County plotted to show the areas of greatest delinquency, and another map of the County plotted to show the slum areas. If superimposed, the two would coincide." (1)

Many leading citizens on whom it is incumbent to know, are aware of these inadequacies. The following statement from President Judge Charles L. Brown, Municipal Court of Philadelphia, is most significant:

(1) Exhibit No. 15

"In response to your inquiry relative to delinquency and crime among Negroes, the Municipal Court has been increasingly concerned about Negro Youth. You have asked whether discrimination on the part of various officials and agencies who handle Negro delinquents has jeopardized their status. In our experience, the problem appears to be not a matter of discrimination but rather a question of inadequate facilities. As you know, the Negro population in Philadelphia has more than doubled in the past twenty-five years, and although there has been an increase of social services for Negroes, the expansion has not kept pace with the increase in Negro population. Additional recreational facilities, adequate financing of foster home care for children and an increase in correctional training facilities would help to alleviate the excessive rate of delinquency among Negroes."(1)

One of the most thoughtful statements on the question of various types of inadequacies and the problems involved was written for the Commission by Mr. W. B. McKenna of the Philadelphia Inter-Agency Council for Youth:

"Perhaps even more important than treatment facilities are resources for diagnosing and dealing with pre-delinquent behavior. The home, the school, and the recreation center all have a part to play in this. Yet, there has been little if any attempt made to help Negro parents, most of whom are themselves having a difficult time learning to adjust to a Northern city environment, to understand and cope with behavior problems as they show up in their children. The schools, too, have a special responsibility. It is the rare teacher who is able at the present time to offer constructive guidance and help to the 'difficult' child in her classroom, and the existing number of trained Home and School Visitors is too small to offer much

(1)

An excerpt from a letter from Judge Brown to the Executive Director dated May 19, 1942.

assistance. The same thing is true of the recreation agencies, many of which, though located in heavily populated Negro areas, impose restrictions of one kind or another on Negro neighbors.

"The part that recreation agencies play in this whole situation deserves further serious consideration. A five-year study now being completed by the Inter-Agency Council for Youth indicates that by and large no more than 30% of delinquent children living in the areas of the city's settlements, boys' clubs, YMCA's, etc., have ever made use of these agencies. The other 70% have never availed themselves of these facilities. We may only surmise the reasons for this, but one study has been shown that at least two-thirds of a sampling of delinquent boys who had attended recreation centers at some time or other had while attending exhibited behavior indicative of inability to get along satisfactorily with either children or with adults. In all too many cases it has been found that a child joins up at a center, gets into difficulty with leaders or playmates there, drops out of the center or is expelled, (or may, in many cases, even continue to attend) and at a later date, is arrested. This is not to imply that there is any cause-and-effect relationship between these events; it does seem to signify, however, that if the leader at the center were sufficiently skilled to do something about the behavior at the time it first manifests itself (just as the teacher could do something about that behavior in the school setting) then an appreciable decrease in delinquency might be brought about.

"Though recreation agencies are limited in what they can do with the specific individual delinquent, their contribution to the whole area of delinquency prevention must not therefore be disregarded. The long-run influence of a settlement house, a city recreation center, or a boys' club in the community in which it is located may be of tremendous value. Through offering opportunities to participate in pleasurable, educational, democratically controlled activities such a center can, over a period of years, introduce new cultural standards and values

into the most difficult of neighborhoods. This is true 'crime prevention', but its results are hard to measure simply because no one can say with any degree of certainty that crimes that were never committed would have been committed if such-and-such an agency had not been in existence." (1)

With reference to inadequacies as they relate to dependent and neglected Negro children, Mr. Edwin Solenberger, General Secretary of the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, states:

"From my experience in the child welfare field, I think we do not have sufficient facilities at the present time for colored children who need to be cared for away from their own homes. We have, of course, found over a period of years that homes are broken up by the death or protracted illness of one or both parents, desertion of a parent, usually the father, or mental, moral or physical incapacity of one or both parents. It then becomes necessary in any community to care each year for a certain number of dependent and neglected children away from their own homes. The foster care may be given either in an institution, preferably on the cottage plan, or by the use of carefully selected private family boarding homes under careful supervision of a trained and qualified staff. For a limited number of children there is also the possibility of free home placement and for some perhaps, legal adoption. Whatever the form of foster care it should be adequate for the needs of the population in the community concerned.

"I believe that survey of the child welfare facilities for the colored urban population of our State will show that there are unfortunately gaps at various points for care of the dependent and neglected colored children and also for what might be called the pre-delinquent group. I suggest that this matter be carefully studied with emphasis on the special needs of the various groups of colored children." (2)

Mrs. Laura D. Nichols, Executive Director of the House of the Holy Child writes:

"In the past decade, the quality of the care for dependent white children in and around Philadelphia has been steadily improved, with professional training becoming more and more a requirement for workers, and the results, as indicated above, are obvious. Unfortunately, the same has not been true to any large extent in the case of agencies serving Negro children exclusively, and other agencies in the meantime have, for various reasons, curtailed their intake of Negro children. Thus, while the ratio of dependent white children decreased and the provision for their care at the same time became more adequate, the reverse has been true in the case of colored children, and consequently the job of preventive care has been less effective for them."

The following statement was written by Messers Phillip Wallis, Frank S. Brown, and Robert C. Taber of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia:

"The disproportionate share of Negro children involved in delinquency and dependency cases reflects certain obvious factors and, no doubt, is influenced by others which only complete analysis will disclose. In the first place, the Negro family suffers in general from widespread unemployment, as is evidenced by the fact that, despite the shortage of labor in certain fields in the present emergency, industry is only now beginning to draw upon the ranks of Negro labor. In the second place, during the past 20 years there has been heavy migration of Negroes from the south to the north. The change from a simple rural community to a complex city, with a higher tempo of living, is bound to be productive of social difficulties, and this tendency is accentuated by the lack of job opportunities. The figures further reflect the lack of satisfactory recreation and housing facilities and other community resources for the Negro, and this is clearly borne out by the fact that 68% of the Negro boys who were held for court were repeaters as opposed to 51% of the white boys.

"What community resources are available to meet these urgent needs? Training schools for children such as Sleighton Farms and Glen Mills, frequently have no vacancies. On occasion children who have been committed to training schools have been held as long as 3 months in the House of Detention pending admission. This constitutes a very unwholesome situation since the available facilities do not permit segregation of those committed from those who are awaiting hearing. The lack of resources further means that children who should be committed to a training school at the time when they would be most responsive to the treatment which it would provide, must necessarily be placed, as a matter of expediency, in foster homes. That these children do not lend themselves to placement in foster homes is shown by the large turnover in these cases, together with the excessive run-aways. The result is that when a child eventually reaches the training school he is more calloused and less susceptible to a constructive experience, by virtue of having become more deeply entrenched in a delinquent pattern.

"With the exception of the House of the Holy Child, which has recently expanded its foster care service, there have been few changes which have strengthened the available services for Negro children. The child care agencies who place Negro children in large numbers are in general totally inadequate in staff and in supervision. In no small measure this situation is due to lack of funds. For instance, upon the invitation of the Bureau of Colored Children, the Council of Social Agencies recently made a thorough study of that Agency. Its report showed the need for immediate revamping of program and personnel. Nevertheless, the Agency was not in a position to lift itself by its own boot-straps, and cannot hope to secure additional State funds until it has improved its services, and cannot improve its services without additional funds." (1)

(1)

Exhibit No. 11

The above statement is supported by Mr. Leon Thomas Stern, who knows the situation not merely in Philadelphia but also throughout the State. He writes:

"One problem that needs immediate attack is the problem of the lack of facilities for the care of Negro children, either institutional or foster home care, -- for those in difficulty with the law or merely socially and economically handicapped. Since the economic situation feeds into the delinquency situation, I think that that problem should be considered as a whole." (1)

7. Be the above natural explanatory factors ever so indispensable, human beings are more than the sum total of environmental factors; spiritual forces are also indispensable. Discriminatory forces have been sufficiently great to disillusion many Negroes; many of them have less practical belief in the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God than in former years. Consequently, the law-abiding, self-respecting, and brotherly love influences of the church, religion, and God are less effective today than in former years. Disillusionment due to discriminatory forces both in and outside of established churches, have caused numerous colored citizens to seek strange faiths. Even though these faiths may serve as temporary emotional releases, their ethical influences on enlightened democratic citizenship are almost negative.

Thus, while there is need for more agencies to deal with delinquent Negro youth antecedent to court appearance, while

(1)

Exhibit No. 14

there is need for better legal representation, more enlightened judicial sympathies, admitting the need for more probation and parole services, and more adequate penal and correctional agencies and services, the fundamental need is to be sought elsewhere. The same determined social order, which makes the laws, by which persons are adjudged criminal and delinquent and which designs the methods by which they are punished, should condition the Commonwealth so that Negroes can have a "proper sense of belonging" in every area of life guaranteed by the letter and the spirit of the constitution.

Therefore, your Commission submits that crime and delinquency rates, as they relate excessively to any racial group, are but symptoms of general social maladjustment. In order to remedy the situation, emphasis must be placed upon those constructive factors already within each of the several municipalities. Full social justice in citizenship, suitable employment, proper recreational facilities, better housing, and related improvements, will result in the eradication of excessive rates of Negro crime and delinquency. Democracy must be implemented with sufficient justice, fair mindedness, and brotherhood, to enable the rest of the citizens to give the Negro recognition commensurate with his merits in every area of life. Otherwise, there can be no significant improvement in the high incidence of crime and delinquency among Negroes.

The following statement by the Honorable Ralph H. Smith, Judge, Quarter Sessions Court, Pittsburgh, is most appropriate:

"The disposition of cases in court is only a small part of the problem facing society. When a case reaches court it is evidence that crime prevention methods have been negligible or absent, that the difficulty has reached an acute stage and that frequently drastic action is the only remedy.

"Society by neglect creates crime producing conditions. Some day an enlightened social order will take the economical method of a sound crime prevention program which basically will include:

1. Educational opportunity for all with mental capacity according to their natural or acquired aptitude and skills. This education will include development of a sense of individual responsibility.
2. Economic opportunity for all persons physically able to maintain themselves by dint of their own effort.
3. Abolition of slums and substitution of decent housing for all men, women and children.
4. Development of health program that will promote individual health and community welfare.
5. Development of recreation, adult education and leisure time activities that will create sense of social community and individual worth.
6. Training in appreciation of our heritage as free men and the discharge in the ordinary responsibilities of every day citizenship.
7. Overhauling of court procedure that will eliminate useless delays, discard outworn technicalities and utilize the latest and best scientific knowledge available.
8. Better co-ordination of the prison and other custodial institutions in interest of more scientific classification, greater rehabilitation and more adequate protection of society.
9. Continued development of the Parole System for which New Pennsylvania Parole Act gives such a splendid beginning." (1)

(1)

Exhibit No. 12

RECREATION

In addition to the value of recreation for other reasons, it is very valuable as a means of promoting physical and mental health, the development and enjoyment of the fine arts, promoting informal education, and reducing law violation. Quantitatively, the American people have long recognized the value of recreation. This is evident from the fact that in normal years, more than \$10,000,000,000 or approximately one-eighth of the national income is spent therefore. In accordance with its per capita wealth, Pennsylvania does not seem to rank very high in the expenditure of funds for public recreation. However, it ranks much higher in expenditures for the various forms of private recreation. Nevertheless, so far as quantity goes, there is hardly a shortage. In Pennsylvania, as in the nation, the shortage is qualitative. Nevertheless, because of restrictions and exclusions, poverty and related factors, qualitatively and quantitatively, there is a shortage of recreational facilities and services for Negroes. The following data are selected for their representativeness:

ALTOONA

In Altoona, church membership exceeds, by far, any other type of membership; likewise, church attendance exceeds all other forms of attendance. In terms of membership, fraternal and social organizations rank next but in terms of attendance, the movies rank second. Public oppor-

tunities for recreation are limited but are open to all citizens. There are a few dance halls which Negroes may rent. Fraternal, social, and political groups use them occasionally. There are no pool rooms operated by Negroes but there are several which are patronized by Negroes. There are a number of saloons which refuse Negro patronage; many others do not. Negroes are not permitted to use any of the private golf course; nor are they welcomed at road-houses and country clubs.

The Booker T. Washington Community Center is rendering a valuable service to Negroes in the field of recreation. It conducts a summer camp for Negro boys and girls of all ages. In addition to this camp, the Center conducts a day camp for boys who are unable to attend the regular camp. There are several clubs for youngsters, among which are: the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Girl Reserves; Junior and Senior, and Cub Scouts. Some of the activities of these clubs are: hikes, picnics, hobbies, sewing, knitting, crocheting, and many types of handicraft. There is also a fairly good program for adults. However, given the Negro population, its range of interests, the restrictions and exclusions, it is very apparent that there is an inadequacy of recreational facilities and services for Negroes in Altoona.

CHESTER

In 1934, the Delaware County Tuberculosis and Health Association included recreation in its study of 500 Negro

families. Over 90 per cent of these families attended church. In terms of organization membership, fraternal, social, and political clubs were next but in terms of attendance, movies ranked next. There was practically no private or public organized recreation for Negroes. A study was made of 303 children between the ages of six and sixteen. Only five played in supervised playgrounds; 274 or 90 per cent of them did not make use of any sort of playground.

The 1942 Swarthmore study indicates that although there is some change, the situation is very serious especially since the sudden increase of the Negro population. The Chester YMCA has seven clubs of Negro boys all of which meet in the schools. It has a Negro Advisory Board and permits Negroes to use certain facilities at specific times. The YWCA permits Negroes to use its building for club meetings and dances, but does not permit them to use the swimming pool because of "public feeling". The Douglass Junior High School has a gymnasium which is used for intra-mural and inter-scholastic sports. In the evenings, it is used for Negro soldiers in a USO program. In spite of the vast open space surrounding the School, there are no playground facilities. Recently, a City Recreation Board has been formed but as of this writing, it has made little progress toward providing recreational facilities and services.

As in 1934, the church membership and attendance exceed

all other types of membership and attendance ~~so far~~ as adults were concerned. Theatre attendance ranks second; fraternal, social, and civic organizations come next. The Swarthmore report states:

"Even as far as the movies are concerned, there are certain restrictions; several theatres do not admit Negroes at all and in most of the others, the back rows are reserved for colored people."

Even though Negroes suffer very seriously from these inadequacies, it should be pointed out that the City of Chester has very few public facilities for any of its citizens. For its wealth and size, Chester provides fewer public facilities of this type than any city in the State. Moreover, aside from the USO, there is no first-class private or semi-private recreational agency in the City for Negroes. The leadership of the USO is intelligent and industrious, but it is necessarily handicapped by the lack of funds and facilities. Aside from the interest taken in Negroes by the YMCA, the YWCA, and Crozier Theological Seminary, none of the white agencies of this type are doing any work of permanent value among Negroes. Even the playing facilities of the schools are very poor. As a result, the Negro churches, fraternal and social clubs account for most of the non-commercialized recreation for Negroes in Chester. Because of the lack of funds and the proper type of leadership, these organizations and clubs cannot meet the major recreational needs of Negroes. Wherever there is such a

great lack of wholesome recreational activities, commercialized recreation and vice are expected to be disproportionately high. This is the case of Chester. In such a case, because of restrictions, exclusions, and poverty, Negroes suffer much more than the white population. Due to the influx of Negroes working at the Sun Ship Yard, and Negro soldiers, the problem is most acute.

CONNELLSVILLE

Miss Clara B. Jordan, Executive Secretary of the Connellsville Community Fund, sent the Commission the following statement concerning recreation for Negroes:

"While we do not have an organization for special work among the Negroes, we do have a Recreation Committee which provides playgrounds and recreation halls. On the playgrounds and in the parks the colored children have the same advantages and privileges as the white children. There is a special hall for the colored children which receives the same help as the hall for white children."

Aside from church, fraternal, and social organizations, adult Negroes have very little wholesome recreation. Pool-rooms, taprooms, and related types of commercial recreation are ample but these contribute nothing wholesome. Movie attendance is high among Negroes of all ages except the aged. On the whole, recreational facilities for Negroes in Connellsville are unsatisfactory.

ERIE

Mrs. Emily J. Wharton, Executive Secretary of the Booker T. Washington Center of Erie, has prepared the following

statement for the Commission:

"Our organization is the recognized recreation center for Negroes. Our facilities are not complete, but those we lack such as swimming pool and gymnasium are available through the cooperation of the Boys Club and Neighborhood House. These organizations work with us in our program and many colored boys belong to the Boys Club. The YMCA and the YWCA are not so generous. Public recreation facilities privately owned vary in their attitude. The skating rinks do not want Negro patronage. I know of one refusal which was handled through the school but no test case was made. There is no segregation in the theatres. One attempt to do so was made, but was broken up. There is no difficulty with public recreation facilities owned by the city or state such as parks, playgrounds, beaches, etc."

HARRISBURG

There is a shortage of public recreational facilities for all citizens of Harrisburg. Although Negroes use the parks and playgrounds, they are, unofficially, denied the use of the Island Park Beach for swimming. Altercations have occurred when Negroes insisted upon making use of these facilities. In spite of restrictions and exclusions, Negroes in Harrisburg enjoy a wider range of commercial recreational facilities than is true of most cities in the State.

The YMCA and the YWCA are the center of non-profit Negro recreational activities in Harrisburg. In general, their programs are good. They are rendering very valuable services to those Negroes who make use of them. However, considering the opportunities for wholesome recreation available in Harrisburg, there are too many Negroes who do not appreciate the recreational opportunities offered. In

some way, the YMCA, the YWCA, Negro churches, and fraternal organizations must reach this relatively large group of Negroes. However, this problem is not peculiar to Harrisburg; it is too prevalent all over the State. The problem seems outstanding in Harrisburg only because its non-profit recreational facilities for Negroes seem more adequate than is true of any other city in the State. In addition thereto, Harrisburg, for its size, has a large number of Negroes who can supplement the leadership afforded by the YMCA and the YWCA in providing worthwhile uses of leisure time.

These resources should be pooled toward the end of enlarging public recreation for all citizens and encouraging a large number of Negroes to participate in the facilities and services available.

JOHNSTOWN

We are indebted to Miss Florence M. Hornback for the following summary of recreation of Johnstown:

"Outside of their homes, the Negro churches are the only places in the survey area where colored people can assemble and express themselves. Each week some church groups conduct socials which are open to the public, but patronized chiefly by the particular church membership. Many of the churches hold an annual picnic and this recreation ranks next to reading as a favorite leisure time activity. Many informants enthusiastically describe the games and enjoyable activities in which the whole family participated at these open-air gatherings and expressed the wish that they occurred more often.

"Church choirs and quartets and choruses afford favorite leisure time activity.

"A few places can be rented for dances and gatherings, but the rental is high and only organizations with large numbers of members can afford to underwrite them.

"The municipal golf course in Johnstown is open to Negroes and some take advantage of the opportunity. It is five miles out of the city and the cost of 75 cents a game puts it in the luxury class for the majority. Private golf courses are closed to Negroes and, in some instances, to colored caddies.

"No swimming pools, public or private, are open to colored citizens. The Negroes find swimming places along out-of-the-way creeks and streams, which are not always safe. Some with automobiles travel as far as Aliquippa on Sundays and week ends to enjoy the fine facilities of the municipal swimming pool there.

"The Young Women's Christian Association has opened its doors to Negro girls on Wednesday of each week for two hours. The Young Men's Christian Association has not opened its doors to any group of Negroes young or old.

"Since the passage of the Equal Rights Bill, moving picture theatres are open to both white and colored at the regular prices of admission.

"Playgrounds established in areas chiefly populated by colored people have been well kept and attended. In spite of meager play equipment, they are greatly appreciated. Of the 618 children from 1 to 16 years old on the schedules, 390 occasionally attend and 77 stated they would attend a playground if there was one within walking distance of their home. There are no playgrounds exclusively for colored children. In areas where most of the residents are white, these children dominate the scene and often make it uncomfortable for the minority.

"There are commercialized pool rooms and saloons which cater to colored trade, some of which are maintained for the financial returns only, rather than constructive leisure time pursuits." (1)

PHILADELPHIA

Through the kindness of Mr. Thomas A. Meryweather, Executive Director of the Crime Prevention Association, the

(1) Hornback, Florence M., "Survey of the Negro Population of Metropolitan Johnstown, Penna." 1941, PP 42-43.

Commission is permitted to quote, in part, the following report which was prepared for a commission created by the 1941 Session of the General Assembly for the special purpose of studying public recreation in Philadelphia:

"RECREATION IN PHILADELPHIA"

This report will attempt to set forth briefly the situation concerning public recreation in Philadelphia as conducted by the three tax-supported agencies: the Bureau of Recreation, the Philadelphia Board of Public Education, and Fairmount Park.

It is hoped that the report will answer once and for all the questions: (1) Does Philadelphia have sufficient public recreation? (2) If not, why not? (3) Under present conditions, what can be done to provide more adequate recreation?

1. While much has been said about this subject during the past ten years, one need only turn to two fairly late studies in order to get an answer to the question; "Does Philadelphia have adequate public recreation?"

The first is the very thorough study, "Informal Education and Recreation", published by the Council of Social Agencies of Philadelphia in March, 1941. A quick glance at the map on page 35 will convince one that Philadelphia is inadequate in park space to the extent of over 4,000 acres, while in public space allotted to general recreation, the city is deficient by over 6,000 acres. In four of the

ten sections into which this study has divided the city, there is an excess of park space but these are not areas of a high density of population. This shows bad planning. This map also shows that in none of the ten areas are recreation facilities even 50 per cent adequate. This situation shows poor planning or inadequate appropriations, or both.

The public schools of Philadelphia are possible sites for public recreation. Thirty square feet of play space per pupil has been set as the standard. A table on page 32 of this same report indicates that only 72 schools have adequate play space according to this standard, while 133 are inadequate.

The second report of recent date on this subject is one prepared by the Playgrounds Committee of the Northeast Business Men's Association, revised as of April, 1941. This report shows that in 11 wards, (3, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 27, 32, 35, 43, 50), there is neither a city recreation center nor swimming pool. The population in these wards aggregate 291,926, as of 1940. However, in these same 11 wards there are 4 Junior or Senior High Schools in which recreation centers could be maintained.

This lack of public recreation has necessitated a large number of private agencies to endeavor to fill the gap in order to provide the public with the recreation that they have a right to expect.

Comparative figures relative to city recreation school facilities, and private recreation facilities, are attached as Appendix A of this report.

2. In answer to the question, "Why does this situation exist?" it should first be pointed out that in past years the Board of Education, though willing to use their facilities for public recreation, were restricted by law from raising additional funds for this purpose.

Perhaps the answer is partly found in the following figures prepared by the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research and recently published in "Citizens Business":

Per capita expense for Recreation
All recreation services

	<u>1938</u>	<u>1939</u>	<u>1940</u>
San Francisco	\$3.47	\$3.59	
Boston	3.25		3.10
Philadelphia	1.77	1.23	1.25

In this study of recreational expenditures of 14 cities of over 500,000 population, Philadelphia was lowest in 1938 and 13th in 1939.

3. It will be seen from the figures given above that bad planning and inadequate appropriations by the City are largely responsible for the lack of public recreation.

It must also be recognized that while Philadelphia has no adequate Planning Commission, the Board of Education has shown good judgment in placing their schools in accor-

dence with the trend of population and in efficiently administering their funds."

From the above statement, it is obvious that there is an inadequacy of recreational facilities and services for all of the citizens of Philadelphia. For Negroes, this inadequacy is even greater. In this regard, Dr. J. C. Reinnemann, District Supervisor, Juvenile Division, Municipal Court, states: "In Philadelphia recreational facilities for Negroes are far from adequate. Of the city's 14 Class A playgrounds, 7 are in neighborhoods having colored residents, yet of these 7 at least 3 have restrictions mainly unofficial, denying the use of some or all their facilities to Negroes."

The following statement by Mr. Otto T. Mallory, President of the Playground and Recreation Association, is very pertinent:

"Public provisions for the play and recreation of young colored children are seriously inadequate in the City of Philadelphia. Facilities are far less per thousand of population than for the white children, who are also insufficiently provided for. This is one of the reasons for the poor average health of colored children.

"Colored youths do not have sufficient opportunities for physical exercise and normal recreation in Philadelphia. The excessive volume of law violation among young Negroes is largely due to the relative absence of such counteracting forces. There should be a policy of appropriating funds for character building and crime preventing institutions for Negroes in a definite relationship to the percentage of Negroes in the community.

"The standard of health and of vitality of the children and young people of Philadelphia can be raised only by lifting that of the colored. The

standards of the white people are so closely interrelated with those of the colored people that if standards of one rise, those of the other will also rise. Any policy adopted by the City or State for the benefit of the Negroes, will be for the benefit of the whites.

"In health and character building we are not divided, but truly a UNITED NATION." (1)

Staff studies have shown numerous types of discrimination with reference to the use of public recreational facilities. Even in neighborhoods in which Negroes reside, altercations between members of the two races often occur because Negro citizens insist upon the use of public recreational facilities. So far as staff investigations reveal, this situation is not due to adopted policies of segregation on the part of the Bureau of Recreation or the Fairmont Park Commission of the City of Philadelphia. It seems certain, however, that the Bureau of Recreation, and the Fairmont Park Commission can do much more to prevent such occurrences. The Bureau has ample evidence that such problems can be solved democratically. It has but to review the experience with one of its own centers which was a well known source of interracial friction for many years. The Crime Prevention Association presented the Bureau with a plan wherein its agency, the Bureau, the Department of Public Safety, and the Wharton Settlement cooperated in the supervision of the center. In less than six months of operation

(1) A letter to the Executive Director dated March 3, 1942.

under the new plan, this center is almost a model of interracial cooperation and good will. Henceforth, the Bureau can hardly be excused for permitting the existence of dangerous and undemocratic practices in regard to the use of public recreational facilities and services. In the meantime, interested citizens should do all that is within their power to support the organizations which have the courage and wisdom to render such services.

A committee of lay and professional persons, under the direction of Mr. Tanner G. Duckrey, Principal of the Dunbar School, aided the staff in obtaining an overview of the major difficulties which Philadelphia Negroes are experiencing with reference to private non-profit recreational facilities and services. After having examined the facilities and services available to Negroes, it was found that great inadequacies existed. These inadequacies were both quantitative and qualitative. First of all, there are only a few non-profit recreational agencies which serve both groups and most of those which do serve both racial groups restrict Negroes in numerous ways. Many Negroes resent these discriminatory acts and refuse to accept the services of such agencies; other Negroes accept these services, but show their resentment and often create serious problems.

The following statement, taken from a letter to the Executive Director dated April 15, 1942, from Miss Emily N.

Bartlett, Director, Social Service Department, Sleighton Farm School for Girls, Glen Mills, Pennsylvania, is rather significant:

"In our attempt to aid the delinquent adolescent to readjust to the community after a period of training in the correctional institution, we have found that her recreational pursuits and the friendships she forms are of vital importance. While this is a problem for all girls, it seems a particularly difficult one for the Negro girl. The majority of the Negro girls who are committed to Sleighton Farm are from Philadelphia and vicinity and so return to that community after their training period in the institution. Therefore, it is with this area that we have considerable experience.

"While there are many supervised educational recreational agencies in Philadelphia and vicinity, such as Settlements, Clubs, Playgrounds, and YWCA's, there are comparatively few that welcome Negro participants, if they allow them to enter activities at all. Many agencies which are now located in areas thickly populated by Negroes are still building their programs around the groups who occupied the neighborhood when the agency was established. Though their environment has changed, their policies have not. While there is a scarcity of opportunities for satisfying recreational opportunities and social contacts through approved channels, there is an abundance of opportunity for 'fun' in the less approved manner. The beer garden, the shoddy 'night club,' the corner hang-out equipped with 'juke box,' and legion, easily accessible and welcoming. The neighborhood 'riff-raff' are friendly and easy to know. All adolescent girls are eager for companionship and anxious to 'have fun.' The Negro girl has very little choice in attempting to satisfy these needs."

The staff studied twelve such agencies which admitted Negroes, but with specific limitations. Except in two instances, it would appear that in each case the personnel was largely responsible for discriminatory practices. It is admitted that some board members, a part of the white

membership, constituency, and clientele may make some undemocratic remarks or demonstrations regarding Negro participants. Too often, thinking that discrimination is the easiest way out of such difficulties, members of the various personnel groups have suggested or begun such practices without the specific approval of their respective boards of trustees, managers, or directors. Your Commission is convinced that, in many instances, if the personnel of the respective agencies exercised a little more judgment and patience these problems could be solved agreeably. No amount of care is too great a price for the establishment and preservation of the principles of Christianity and democracy.

On the other hand, an examination of non-profit Negro recreational agencies has shown that they are generally inadequate with reference to location, distribution, number, equipment, program and personnel. Unfortunately, these facilities and services have not kept pace with the rapid increase in the Negro population. Given the inadequacies, restrictions, and exclusions which pertain to public recreation, the limitations involved in non-profit private recreational agencies, it is evident that qualitatively and quantitatively, Negroes in Philadelphia are greatly handicapped by the lack of the proper type and amount of recreational facilities and services. As a result thereof, com-

mercialized recreation and vices occupy a disproportionately large amount of the leisure time of the Negro population. As is well known, excessive rates of law violation are only some of the results of such conditions.

The seriousness of the situation is rather evident. It is challenging. With reference to private non-profit Negro recreational agencies, it must be pointed out that, with one exception, by far the most constructive work is done by those agencies belonging to the Community Fund or similar philanthropy in which most of the funds therefor are contributed by white persons. These agencies need to be multiplied and their services expanded. On the other hand, Negroes must contribute more funds for the maintenance of these agencies. Non-profit recreational agencies serving both groups have been mentioned above. Their democratic and Christian mission is clear. The City should greatly improve its recreational facilities and services for all of its citizens. Through the selection of the proper personnel, restrictions and exclusions which now exist in the use of public facilities can soon be reduced to a minimum. In the meantime, Negro churches, adult education programs, Negro fraternal, social, and educational groups have a task to perform in using every possible means to create a greater desire for more wholesome recreation on the part of a larger number of Negroes and especially those who now spend so much of their time in movies, cabarets,

pool rooms, and similar types of commercialized recreation.

PITTSBURGH . . .

The Pittsburgh staff of the Commission made the following report on recreation in Pittsburgh:

"The field of recreation and leisure time activities is a many-sided situation and very closely related to health, economy, delinquency, crime and broken homes. This portion of the study cannot seriously consider each of these aspects of human needs but the information contained herein will be made more meaningful when related to other phases of this study.

"The information which follows is a result of the information taken from the survey schedules which were sent to schools, public recreation centers, private agencies, camps, and Works Projects Administration Centers.

"No attempt was made in this study to ascertain the amount of service to a client. For instance, a boy who attends a center one hour a month for a club meeting counts as one unit. A boy who attends the game room of the same center daily for a two or three hour period counts as one unit. More comprehensive data of an authentic nature was not available.

Public Recreation: (1)

"Public Recreation in the City of Pittsburgh is provided by:

1. Bureau of Recreation of the City of Pittsburgh
2. Board of Education

Bureau of Recreation:

"The Bureau of Recreation maintains 16 year-round centers. One of these centers serves a large number

(1) Public Recreation: Since the beginning of this study the Pittsburgh Bureau of Recreation has dedicated and opened a new \$300,000 Recreation Center and Swimming Pool. This center is located in the heart of the Hill District, the area most heavily populated by Negroes in Western Pennsylvania. This will alleviate the seriousness of the situation to a great extent

"Three of these school centers are located in the areas of Negro concentration and serve Negroes almost exclusively.

"The Board of Education program on the whole provides higher caliber personnel, much better physical equipment, a more wholesome attitude and extends its service to larger number of Negroes in leisure time activities than the Bureau of Recreation.

Private Social Agencies:

"There are six social agencies doing group work exclusively with Negroes in Pittsburgh; they are Center Avenue Branch YMCA, Kay Boy's Club, Ebenezer Center, the Recreation Department of the Urban League of Pittsburgh and Hall City. The following social agencies serve both white and Negro members: Scho Community House, Brashers Association, Goodwill Industries Center, Manchester Educational Center and the Homewood-Brushton YMCA, which operates an extension program in cooperation with the Public Schools. A few Negro churches operate small recreation programs and vacation Bible Schools. These programs are usually staffed by WPA, and NYA, and volunteer leadership. We do not wish to minimize the effort of churches, but lack of adequate funds for proper equipment and materials and the constant turnover of project workers makes it very difficult for the operation of a consistently good program.

Organized Summer Camps:

"There are forty organized summer camps serving the Pittsburgh area. Only three reported any Negroes served during the past camping season. Camp James Welden Johnson is designed to serve underprivileged Negro children at no cost to the camper. This camp served 501 of the total number of 700 Negroes who were given a camping opportunity. One of the other camps reporting permitted Negro children to attend camp in a segregated period, the third camp took the Negro and white children simultaneously and also maintained a mixed staff. There is one other camp which didn't report which we know to serve a few Negro campers each summer. The total number of Negro campers served in organized resident camps was 700, during the season of 1940. This is the largest number ever served from Pittsburgh.

for those in the area immediately adjacent to it. To what extent this center will meet the needs of the people cannot be ascertained until it has been in operation for a period sufficiently long to be analyzed.

of Negroes. This center is small and inadequate and serves less than 300 youth.

"There are two swimming pools designated by the Bureau as pools to serve Negroes. Those facilities are augmented by seven or eight summer playgrounds. At other centers, playgrounds, and swimming pools Negroes are not encouraged to participate or refused admission.

"There are many instances on record when Negroes have been beaten and driven out of public recreation facilities by white members. The personnel in the Bureau set-up, largely, has not been interested in democratic service.

"Police protection has been totally lacking or indifferent in the recreation facilities.

"The organization of Pittsburgh's government has placed the Bureau of Recreation in the Public Works Department which has as its major function the supervision of streets, sewers, garbage disposal, etc. The Police Department is a part of the Bureau of Public Safety. These two Bureaus do not seem to be properly coordinated to obtain the best results.

Board of Education:

"The Board of Education has been more kindly disposed toward Negro participation and has shown no discrimination in the recreational activities offered. In each of the 45 public schools offering a night school program the facilities of those schools are also made available for a recreation program when the group desiring to use the facilities can provide a satisfactory leader.

"Fifteen public schools have been designed by the Board of Education as Community Centers. In these centers leadership is provided and paid by the School Board. Fourteen Negro teachers have found part time employment in this phase of the Education program.

"The Pittsburgh Day Camp which operates as a part of the Bureau of Recreation served 709 Negro children during the summer of 1940. However, since these children were referred by other agencies to count them again would be duplication.

"In all of these agencies both public and private we find slightly more than 10,000 different Negroes are being served.

"In the private agency field we have two outstanding illustrations of gross discrimination; namely: the Irene Kaufmann Settlement in the Hill District, and Kingsly House in East Liberty District, both of which totally exclude Negroes from participation in their programs, both of the plants are located in the heart of highly concentrated Negro areas.

"Both of these agencies claim to be serving the neighborhood in which they are situated. They were traditionally established in and for those neighborhoods in which poverty and other adverse conditions exist. Still these neighborhood houses continue to close the doors to the group that needs the service the most.

"In summary, no form of recreation exists in Pittsburgh for Negroes in proportions even approximating recognized standards.

"Negroes are not admitted on equal terms to recreation opportunities provided by agencies, Public or Private, even in the field of social work where racial discrimination has the least justification they are excluded, and restricted."

The report of the above summer activities covered the summer of 1941. During the summer of 1942, at the suggestion of the Recreation Committee of the Urban League of Pittsburgh, a study was made under the direction of Mr. Charles Edward Mason to determine the extent to which Negroes participated in the municipal recreational facilities provided by the City of Pittsburgh. In Pittsburgh, municipal recreation is under the auspices of two managing authorities, the

Bureau of Recreation, and the Board of Education. The Housing Authority and private welfare agencies provide supplementary facilities. Of the playgrounds contacted, the Board of Education operated 70 and the Bureau of Recreation conducted 45. These playgrounds or centers ranged in size from small junior-size grounds to the larger fully equipped centers where large numbers of persons could be served. Some were found to be elaborate in terms of equipment, while others were found to be little more than vacant lots with a minimum of equipment to serve the smaller children. In all instances, leadership was found to be on an equal plane, guiding the participants in their many desires, despite limited facilities or other handicaps. In most areas the Negro was participating where permitted and reports of strained racial relations were few. In no instance did leaders report the existence of trouble between the two groups.

The program included: art craft, handcraft, sand craft, archery, baseball, basketball, football, horseshoe, paddle tennis, ping pong, rushball, soft ball, swimming, tennis, track-field, volley ball, social dancing, and drama-plays, story telling, musicals, nature study, first-aid, games, and safety activities. In 57 playgrounds, the participants were both colored and white and in 27 playgrounds the participants were all white.

The following table is self-explanatory:

Frequency Distribution of Percentage Negro
Participation According to Average Daily Attendance

<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>No. of Centers</u>
0-24	22
25-49	11
50-74	12
75-100	9

Mr. Eason concluded:

"Certain facts cannot be overlooked however, and so it must be mentioned that despite the fact that the summer recreation program is under the managing authorities of the Bureau of Recreation and the Board of Education, two tax supported agencies, discrimination in certain areas, exists.

"Another fact which the report will show is that Negroes are participating, where permitted, and facilities in Negro areas as well as in other areas are well populated during the full time of the program period.

"The presence of discrimination was not unexpected though it will always be unjustifiable. It should be discouraged in an effective manner for if in any phase of our democratic way of life the true principles of democracy are to be found, they should be found, first of all, in play."

The following summary of recreation in Pittsburgh presented to the Commission in 1941, is an excellent generalized statement of the present situation.

"In Phillip Klein's, 'Social Study of Pittsburgh,' published in 1938, he said there exists a serious shortage of leisure time facilities for the general populace of Pittsburgh. Since the Negro's leisure time opportunity is much more limited than that of the general population we must state that his plight in Recreation is sad indeed."

PITTSVILLE

In 1934, Mr. Irving K. Merchant made a study of Negroes

in Pottsville, He summarized recreation as follows:

"In the section in which the Negroes live are found the most degrading forms of recreation. Questionable persons are allowed to operate in the city, disorderly houses are conducted, and recently there has been opened on Minersville Street a 'Black and Tan' night club known as 'The Harlem Moon'. This night club is patronized by people of both races.

"Another outlet for the energy of Negroes is 'Playing the Number'."

"The degrading forms of recreation, and lack of adjustment to the complexities of a northern city are factors which cannot be discounted in any attempt to analyze the adult behavior of the Negro. An equal opportunity for work would prevent much of the forced leisure for the group. An adult recreation program would attract many of the adults who are thrown in contact with evil influences." (1)

After this study, a group of public-spirited and Christian people established Lincoln House, under the able leadership of Mr. Merchant. From its beginning, it has been interracial in its management, personnel, and clientele. Its program includes recreation and education for persons of all ages and for both sexes. Lincoln House has greatly decreased the rates of law violation among Negroes and has provided a well-rounded program of activities for persons of both races who reside in its neighborhood. It has inspired Negro youth and challenged the entire Negro community

(1) "Report of a Study of Specific Conditions of the Negro Pottsville, Pennsylvania and their Relations to the Community" PP 9, and 13.

to better living. Because of the democratic and Christian method of its operation, comprehensiveness of its program and its success, Lincoln House is the model of such agencies not only throughout the State but in all non-southern states. For these and other reasons, the work of Lincoln House has attracted nationwide attention.

WASHINGTON

The Commission is indebted to Mr. Quinn R. Banks and Dr. Robert H. Peyton of the Negro Civic Committee of Washington for the following statement on recreation in that city:

"Washington supports one city-owned park with playgrounds located in each city ward. The city attempts to confine Negroes to playgrounds in their own ward, staffed by Negro workers. There is no actual bar against Negroes in the segregated areas.

"The only public swimming pool is located in the park and there is a ban against Negro participation. The local High School Building, has the only public gym, and no ban is placed against Negro activities or participation.

"The City supports an excellent library open to all citizens. The local High School has a small one catering to the student body.

"The facilities in and about Washington meet about 20 per cent of the actual need, covering the school-age youngster and the summer playground group.

Some arrangement is needed to meet the recreational need in this district, especially that of the teen-age group. The lack of activity to keep the mind and hand busy, has lowered the morals of the younger group. The delinquency rate is high, but few cases reach the Juvenile Court because of the indifference of law-enforcing agency, concerning the condition of the Negro."

WILKES-BARRE

The Wilkes-Barre Interracial Committee's study for the Commission included recreation. It obtained the following statements of policy from the Girl Scouts and the YWCA:

Girl Scouts

"In regard to the attitude and policy of the Girl Scout organization toward the urban colored people using the program, we wish to state that Girl Scouting is available to all groups. It would be necessary for leadership and the sponsoring group to come from within their own groups. The camp question would undoubtedly be one which would prove difficult to solve, but with proper cooperation and understanding it could be worked out."

YWCA

'General Association: Both Negroes and white people can use the building irrespective of membership. Negroes are on board and committees and welcome to all Association events.

'Industrial Department: The Industrial Department welcomes colored and white girls in the same groups.

'Girl Reserve Department: A club is organized for Negro girls which functions with other organized groups in interclub events; Girls have an opportunity to belong to Girl Reserve clubs in schools they attend. Members attend camp with Girl Reserve groups, and use gym and pool in the YWCA when club and interclub events are planned.

'Camp: Groups of mixed races can attend camp week end house parties.

'Health Education Department: Organized groups of women of mixed races may use swimming pool and gymnasium as such. Organized groups of Negro women may use pool and gymnasium as such."

There are four organizations which serve the Negro group exclusively. They are (1) the Mt. Zion Baptist Church having a membership of 280; Bethel A. M. E. Church

having a membership of 135; (3) the Patterson American Legion Post having a membership of 66, and (4) the South Side YMCA, a Negro branch of the regular YMCA, which serves about 338 people regularly. This organization serves about 40 per cent of the Negro population. The Committee described the work of the South Side YMCA as follows:

"The South Side YMCA, located at 434 South Main Street, falls in the category of non-equipment centers. It is a three-story building, formerly used as a dwelling place. Its external appearance can hardly be described as being attractive since it requires painting. There are three meeting rooms, one on each floor. The largest of these meeting rooms is on the ground floor and has a seating capacity of about 60. Since about three hundred use the facilities (163 paying members; approximately 140 non-paying participating) the main assembly hall is inadequate to meet the need of a large meeting.

"The recreational facilities are limited to two pool rooms, one on the first floor for boys and the other on the third floor for men; a ping pong table and a room in the cellar for boxing purposes. There is no gymnasium or pool. In order to provide the members with recreational activities, the South Side "Y" rents the Dodson School gymnasium once a week. This, of course, requires an extra expenditure. The Central YMCA allows the members of the South Side "Y" to use its pool once a week.

"To the rear of the building there is a tennis court which is part of the property. Adjoining the tennis court there is a yard which is privately owned, the owner permitting the Y to use it during the summer as a playground.

"In addition to the three meeting rooms and the two pool rooms, the building contains four dormitory rooms which are rented out to transients. Excepting for a very small collection of books dealing with the life and problems of Negroes, the South Side "Y" has no library. As for the furniture and interior decorations, there is much room for improvement. In spite of the

lack of facilities and the need for physical improvement, the YMCA building is kept clean and in good order, and is of service to about three hundred people during the year."

The above Negro organizations overlap considerably in their membership, but the following gives some idea of the degree to which Negroes are integrated into the recreational life of Wilkes-Barre:

AGENCIES SERVING WHITE AND COLORED

	<u>White</u>	<u>Colored</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Salvation Army	290	2	292
Camp	196	4	200
2. Central YMCA	7,003	-	7,003
(Maintains S.S. YMCA as branch)			
Camp		-	131
3. Boy Scouts of America	3,368	15	3,383

ATTENDANCE

	<u>WHITE</u>		<u>COLORED</u>		<u>TOTAL</u>
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	
4. Playground and Recreation Assoc. (1)	158,045	141,115	1,850	1,540	302,550
5. Luzerne County Recreation (1) (Div. of WPA)	16,400	18,400	300	280	35,308

UTILIZING FACILITIES

	<u>W H I T E</u>				<u>C O L O R E D</u>			
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
6. YWCA	1,239	8,404	470	4,043	105	174	1	20

(1) There is a possibility of some slight overlapping in these two.

In review, there is only one recreational center in Wilkes-Barre for Negroes and it is inadequately staffed and equipped. A number of white organizations serve Negroes in "token" volume only; practically, these services are almost insignificant. Taking into account all factors, although there are many encouraging aspects of Negro recreational problems, restrictions and exclusions are sufficiently in evidence to warrant much improvement. Until this is done, many inadequacies will continue to exist.

WILLIAMSPORT

In 1941, the Division of Negro Research and Planning of the Department of Labor and Industry, the Lycoming County Welfare Council, and the National Youth Administration published a "Survey of Employment, Social, Religious, and Housing Conditions of the Negro Population of Williamsport, Pennsylvania." The following quotation summarizes recreation:

"Social, Recreational and Religious Activities

"The N. A. A. C. P., a forum group presumably for the discussion of Negro problems, and interests is a poor fourth. The question may be raised, what does this mean. Is it lack of interest, inertia, or apathy, complacency, lack of leadership, or just a general acceptance of things as they are? The question may also be asked, why does only one person attend P. T. A. Meetings and only seven belong to Labor organizations? Then again with the generally recognized importance of the Negro vote in political election, why does only one out of 184 participate in political organizations?

"The Place of the Church in the Life of the Negro

"Most of the 334 adults who gave information regarding church membership and attendance are church members and 82 per cent attend an average of 3.3 times a month. Of the 57 non-church members 13 attend an average of 2.2 times a month. Mothers are the most regular attenders and male individuals attend least often.

"It appears from this study that the church plays an important role in the life of the adult Negro group. In fact, it would seem that the church is the most significant organization of the Negro community.

"The percentage of church members among the children of Negro families is also high. Of the 197 children who attend church, 171 are church members and 153 attend an average of 3.7 times a month. This is slightly less than the average attendance of adults. If just the fathers and mothers are considered, the attendance is just about the same as the parents of 3.7 times a month for children and 3.9 times a month for their parents with the mother leading the father 4.0 to 3.8.

"Of the 324 children 199 attend Sunday School and 196 are members. Of the 190 members an average attend 3.8 times a month.

"Apparently, Sunday School is a more significant factor in the lives of children than it is in the lives of the adult Negro population. It is interesting to note, however, that 163 of the 199 children who attend Sunday School are under 13 years of age.

"Use of the Public Library

"Based on information secured in this study, Negroes make little use of the Public Library. Of the 409 adults only 35 less than 10 per cent, use the library an average of 2.6 times a month.

"While the children use the library facilities slightly more than do the adults, only 56 of the 319 children or slightly more than 17 per cent take advantage of this community institution. The average times a month they use the library is 2.6 the same average as the adult group.

"Movies

ADULTS "Movies apparently play an important role in the recreational life of the Negro community. Of the adult Negroes, nearly 44 per cent attend movies on an average of three times a month. It is of interest to note that the younger wives, twenty to thirty years of age, in families where there are no children attend movies an average of twice a week and that female individuals in this age bracket go almost as often--7.3 times a month.

CHILDREN "As would be expected, there is even greater movie attendance among the children than among adults."

In addition to the above, the Bethune-Douglass Community Center, which is sponsored by the white YWCA, has a program which reaches a goodly number of Negroes of both sexes and all ages. Its purposes are:

"1. To serve the community in general and the Negro group in particular as a character building organization, a recreation and welfare center with interest in the welfare of the entire family, but, with emphasis on youth activities and adjustments.

"2. To do specific planning for activities which will include club work, forums, athletics, handicrafts, vocational service, and social recreation. Other needs as health, vocational training, employment opportunities, spiritual guidance and numerous other requirements of individuals will be met by cooperation with the proper agencies.

"3. To serve as a center for the development of interest in community problems and resources, and the interpretation of government and community programs. To act as a coordinating committee or to sponsor such a committee of all organizations working for or with Negro groups to promote harmony and unity of purpose in projects for the benefit of the Negro group.

"4. To draw representatives of all groups to share our facilities."

Considering its very limited facilities and services, the Center is doing good work. However, for various reasons, between a third and a fourth of the Negroes of Williamsport never avail themselves of the services of the Center. Moreover, nearly thirty per cent of those who do attend the Center do so occasionally. To this extent, the Center hardly fulfills its purposes as described above. It should be said, however, that a part of the Center's difficulty rests in the fact that a number of Negro citizens are opposed to any type of work on this order. They call it "voluntary" and "donated" segregation.

WEST CHESTER

In West Chester, as in all other Negro communities, church membership and attendance have the highest frequencies. Movies, fraternal orders, social clubs, etc., come next in order. The local YMCA conducts a Hi-Y and a Phalanx Club for Negro boys and young men; formerly there was a ~~Gradate~~ Sorority for Negro women. Although Negroes are excluded and restricted in some areas of recreation open to other citizens, the West Chester Community Center is doing an excellent job in affording wholesome recreation for the Negro community. The Center is under the capable direction of Mr. Everett W. Johnson and was established through the efforts of the president, faculty, and students of the Cheyney Training School for Teachers in cooperation with

the citizens of West Chester. It has done much for the physical, social, and aesthetic life of Negroes in West Chester. Mr. Clinton E. Moffitt, Executive Secretary of the West Chester Civic Association, has described it as follows:

"It is located on a plot of ground of about two acres in area on which there are playground apparatus and tennis courts. The building itself is used more or less as a colored recreation center where educational classes, socials, basketball games, and all sorts of other activities of interest to the colored people are promoted under the guidance of a staff whose salaries are paid by WPA Education Program and the expense of activities and overhead are covered mainly by an allotment from our local Community Chest. Memberships in the organization are composed of both colored and white and the Board of Managers is also made up of both races. Our records show that there is an attendance of over 100,000 upon the various activities promoted by this center."

YORK

The Commission is thankful to Mr. Chester N. Hays for supervising the study of Negro recreational facilities and services in York. The report states:

"CITY RECREATION INVITING NEGRO PARTICIPANTS

"Thirteen playgrounds - conducted for 10 weeks each summer. Negroes may make use of all playgrounds, however, two are conducted principally for Negroes and employs three colored workers.

"Easter E. Hunts - Every spring a city-wide Egg Hunt is held for all children.

"Music - Music week during which Negro groups are invited to render concerts.

"Institutes - The City Recreation Department has held Institutes for training play leaders in churches, for playgrounds, and for Girl Scout Leaders.

"Community Athletics - For the first time this year the City Wide Basketball League was opened to colored teams.

COMMERCIAL RECREATION

"Theatres are open to Negroes with equal accommodations.

"There are three pool rooms conducted for Negroes mainly.

"There are no places available for public dances. Whites refuse to rent their ballrooms.

"There is some form of gambling and a general popularity in numbers writing, but there does not seem to be developed some of the vicious activities which in many places and under like circumstances thrive openly. Like most towns of the size of York, there is the colored 'Main Street' which is loaded with what appears to be speakeasies operated mainly by foreign whites.

"York has five Negro Churches and several smaller missions.

"A list of the usual Fraternal Organizations follows:

Odd Fellows

Masons

Elks

Household of Ruth

Daughter Elks

"These organizations express themselves mainly for their own membership.

"General Social Agencies which include Negroes in their work are

Visiting Nurses' Association

Family Service Bureau

Needle Work Guild

Salvation Army

Welfare Federation (Financial)

York Hospital and Dispensary

County Poor Board and Almshouse

Home Service of the American Red Cross

Catholic Charities

Mothers' Assistance Fund

"The Young Mens' Christian Association and the Young

Women's Christian Association do not offer facilities for the Negro population.

"The Orphans Home does not offer facilities for Negroes.

"The Childrens Home does not offer facilities for Negroes.

"No swimming pool in the City of York is open to Negro groups under any circumstances up to this time.

"The Crispus Attucks Community Center, which came into existence 12 years ago, is the one agency organized for the purpose of doing recreational and social service work among the Negroes of York. The object of the Community Center is to furnish the good outlet needed. It steps in at the earliest age when the youth goes on the street and attracts him and his gang into the club, which he soon accepts as his own, and where, under sympathetic leaders, his spare time is taken up night after night in wholesome play and group activities. The Center is promoting social, welfare, cultural and civic activities for all ages and both sexes, and the development of interest and participation in character building programs. It is non-sectarian, and its educational and character building programs have been offered without prohibitive membership fees to its participants. Its doors and its services have been and are open for public use."

The Commission has brief descriptive reports on recreation from Pottstown, Ardmore, Bryn Mawr, Haverford, Willow Grove, Carlisle, Chambersburg, Media, Swarthmore, Oil City, Bethlehem, Easton, Clairton, Darby, Scranton, Coatesville, Farrell, Jenkintown, and Norristown. The descriptions are too uniform to record separately but may be briefly summarized as follows: Church and fraternal membership and attendance provide the most wholesome recreation which Negroes provide for themselves. Largely as a means of fund raising, churches have numerous programs of a recreational nature. Commercialized recreation is of the characteristic varieties.

Theatre going ranks next to church attendance. However, girls, young, and middle-aged women attend theatres much more than men. Next to church attendance, men attend and patronize fraternal meetings, pool rooms, and tap rooms. Dances are uniformly given as a form of enjoyment and also a form of fund raising for charitable purposes. Commercialized athletic events are also popular among Negro men. Wherever there are Negro athletes on the various high school teams, the whole Negro community gives good attendance. The lack of funds, the lack of the proper socio-economic background to stimulate a wider interest in the use of leisure time, restrictive, and exclusion practices, all combine to create an inadequacy of recreational facilities and services for Negroes in these towns.

Although the Division of Recreation and Education of the WPA was useful to many persons of all races, and sexes, perhaps its most unique contribution has been its work among Negro adults. It has been a most wholesome influence on Negro adult recreation. On October 24, 1941, the Executive Director wrote WPA officials in Washington requesting a brief statement relative to its needs, objectives, and program as these pertained to all citizens. Mr. Jay du Ven, Executive Assistant, WPA, Washington, D. C., sent the following statement on November 26, 1941:

"Outline of Recreation Information"

"1. Description of the need for Recreation.

Recreation is essential to provide for the creative use of leisure because:

- "(a) Leisure time has increased for everyone in proportion to the decrease in number of hours of work.
- "(b) People must now secure in their leisure time the physical, social, and emotional satisfactions which regimented and monotonous labor does not provide.
- "(c) The tempo of modern civilization and the complexity of modern life must be balanced with periods of relaxation, social contact and experiment with nature.
- "(d) In the present emergency, the increased need for community unity accentuates recreation as a forceful factor in molding cohesive integrated community and national life.
- "(e) Recreation provides opportunity for the individual to select leisure pursuits when he is free from compulsion, and the exercise of such choice is of primary importance in perpetuating the democratic way of life. The recreation movement, therefore, is a total drive to meet the problems of leisure.

"2. The Recreation Program of the Work Projects Administration is the attempt of this agency to provide an organized type of leadership which will supplement and extend local public efforts to meet the problems of leisure.

"Recreation is deemed to be a local community responsibility. Government on a county, state, or Federal level may aid in many ways, but the extent and tone of a program of recreation will be determined by community initiative and interest.

"When the WPA Recreation Program started in 1935, there were less than 3,000 full time paid professional recreation workers in public recreation in the entire nation. Today, according to official reports of the National Recreation Association, there are more than 10,000

professionally employed recreation leaders. However, that is in addition to the almost 40,000 recreation workers that had been employed by the Work Projects Administration during the last several years. Due to reductions in WPA employment during the last year, this number has decreased to less than 30,000 WPA recreation leaders. Over 5,000 WPA leaders have secured permanent employment in recreational work. The WPA Program of recreation renders services as follows:

- "(a) Complements and supplements local existing recreation programs.
- "(b) Inaugurates programs of recreation in the communities desiring but lacking such services.
- "(c) Aids in planning and consultation related to recreation facilities, equipment, organization, training, legislation and program. This consultation service is available on a community, county, state, and national bases and serves both rural and urban areas.
- "(d) Typical of the leadership activities are those which offer people opportunity to participate in music, drama, crafts, games, sports, camping, hobby interests, etc. In Pennsylvania the WPA Program is now employing 2,500 recreation workers in a state-wide recreation program - a proportionate number of whom are Negro recreation workers.

"3. The WPA Recreation Program is dedicated to the enrichment of free public recreation for all people--adults and children--regardless of race, creed, color, or economic status.

"Statement from WPA Music Program

"1. The need for a government music program came from the serious unemployment situation in the music profession created by the advent of talking pictures, canned music, and the economic depression of 1929. The need for employment was accompanied by a need for music and music instruction among underprivileged groups of all races.

"2. The WPA Music Program has employed as many as 15,000 persons and now has over 7,000 on its rolls.

Although this latter figure does not represent the number of unemployed musicians, the employment of these musicians, the retention of their skills and their professional rehabilitation represent a great conservation of American cultural resources. Aggregate audience attendance at WPA concerts has reached such astronomical figures that totals are no longer released. It was over two years ago when the total aggregate attendance exceeded the population of the United States.

"The Pennsylvania Music Project began as a unit of the Federal Music Project which had its inception in 1935. In 1939 the Pennsylvania Music Project became a state-wide music project, a unit of the Pennsylvania Work Projects Administration, and sponsored by the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction.

"While it is difficult to list individuals on the Pennsylvania Music Project of the Negro race who have made outstanding contributions, the two colored dance orchestras, maintained by this project, have done fine work in providing recreational facilities to underprivileged groups and entertainment in many institutions."

This broad State program has covered more than one-hundred different types of activities. Although the program was greatly curtailed on account of the war effort and finally closed in December, 1942, many of its very valuable results still remain. In the first place, thousands of Negroes have been given basic training on the level of folk-education, in many activities, among which were: education, health and safety, social and civic education, community education, home and family living, cultural activities, and some occupational training and re-training. These gains are very significant. Their importance grew largely out of the fact that most of the Negro adults were born out-of-state, largely reared in rural areas and small

towns, poverty-stricken, and possessed meagre leisure. These factors have not only limited the recreational opportunities of most Negro adults, but also have somewhat determined their recreational interests. Church and fraternal interests constituted their only wholesome forms of recreation. Hence, the WPA Program was designed to help fill most of these basic needs and supplement what other agencies were doing.

In the second place, the WPA Program stressed "active" and "useful" recreation instead of passive recreation. This change of habit is fundamental to any valid recreational program. Thus, although projects have closed, they have left the adult Negro population better prepared to meet its recreational activities through wider appreciations and interests, more aesthetic and useful skills which can be used as leisure time activities. Moreover, much of the time wasted by adult Negroes could be spent very profitably in self-improvement, home-improvement, and civic interests. The WPA Program has helped thousands of Negroes in this regard.

Not only have the Negro masses profited; hundreds of college and university trained Negroes have been helped thereby. They have had the pleasure and experience of serving in wholesome and creative capacities which would have been denied them otherwise. Indirectly, this has con-

tributed to Negro morale. Directly, it has enabled many Negro artists to make very valuable contributions to American life which would have been impossible otherwise. Some of these persons such as Miss Virginia Lewis, Dr. Franklin Hoxter, Mr. William King and Mr. Joseph Lockett, have made outstanding contributions in music.

In the various branches of glyptic, plastic, and related arts, Mr. Humbert Howard, Mr. Hewlet Brown, Mr. Franklyn Syres, Mr. Donald Peterson and Mr. John Brantley Wilder have done valuable work.

Mr. Dox Thrash, inventor of the Carborundum Print Process, has made a contribution of national significance. Mr. Sam Brown has won national distinction also. In the meantime, scores of Negro supervisors have obtained sufficient experience to enable them to find suitable private employment.

In addition to, and perhaps somewhat overlapping the above brief descriptions, the YWCA, the YMCA, the Boy Scouts and the Girl Scouts render some educational and recreational services to Negro youth. The following descriptive report was prepared for the Commission on August 19, 1942, by Dr. Myra A. Smith, Executive, Department of Data and Trends, National Board of the YWCA:

	Industrial	Girl Reserve	Other	Total
"Altoona		19		19
Bethlehem		5	12	17
Chester	25	128		153
Germantown	3	5		8
Hollidaysburg			4	4
Johnstown		41		41
Lancaster		18		18
Meadville		29	25	54
McKeesport		25		25
New Castle			10	10
Oil City		26		26
Pittsburgh				
East Liberty (Br.)		59	7	66
Pittsburgh (Central Br.)		41		41
Pottsville		15		15
Reading	21	38	33	92
Scranton	34			34
Titusville			15	15
Wilkes-Barre		25	8	33
Williamsport		27		27
York		22		22"

Fortunately, the Commission has reports from the General Secretaries of most of the above YWCA's. In addition thereto, our records indicate that there are YWCA's other than those

listed above which have some type of colored work; one of the more active of these is Coatesville. Because of the fact that the Commission's records cover a slightly different period from those of the National Office, a few differences may be expected.

The following are some official comments made by the general secretaries of the respective YWCA's in the localities indicated below:

NEW CASTLE:

"Colored girls and women are represented on all YWCA joint Committees and Conferences.

"There is a violent white neighbor near the branch who complains if the big boys use the tennis court and get balls in her yard. A baseball field is badly needed for colored boys."

Another YWCA informant of New Castle stated that the City did not permit Negro citizens to use the swimming facilities.

GETTYSBURG:

"We had a colored Girls' Club ^{forming} formed last year, but due to circumstances they are not this year. We had difficulty in securing a camp for them this summer."

JOHNSTOWN:

"Rifle and archery range, all facilities except swimming pool open to Negroes."

READING:

"Figures include only active enrollment, not groups using facilities occasionally. Adults designated are 18 years or over.

"Over 2 Negro groups function - A Young Girl Reserve Club (24) and an adult co-educational club of about

40 members. All facilities are open to use by Negro groups except swimming pool and that is closed to them for economic reasons only."

LANCASTER:

"The colored group uses the gymnasium twice a year for dances."

KANE:

"There is a very small colored population perhaps 1 to 2 families who do not make use of the rooms. As far as I know, no effort has been made to draw them in."

WILLIAMSPORT:

"Because the Bethune-Douglass Community Center is very active in the city, the YMCA has no work with adults. We have two Girl Reserve Clubs and a few Negro girls in Hobby Groups (for 6th grade girls). The use of the pool is limited to the white race."

YORK:

"I am sorry we have no recreational facilities open for Negro girls (except as a small G. R. Club from the Crispus Attucks Center meets in joint recreational projects four times a year with one Girl Reserves Inter-Club Activities). We do allow the colored girls to use our camp site after regular camp is over in the summer. As you see, our contribution is very limited. Our Girl Reserve Secretary does help with programs and supervision of this one club of some 20 girls."

No doubt there are a few other YMCA's not reporting which render some type of recreational services to Negroes. The following short summaries have been written by or approved by the General Secretary of the respective YMCA's:

WASHINGTON:

The YMCA General Secretary indicated that "at separate periods" a summer camp is provided for Negroes. He states:

"No colored use our Association Building, a settlement house provided for them by a local agency wherein we supervise a boys' high school club, this in addition to our camping program.

"This Association stands ready to cooperate in any way within reason for the betterment of recreational facilities and character-building program for our local colored population."

SEWICKLEY:

"Colored boys are not members of the YMCA, but use its playing field. There is no colored Community Center in Sewickley which has a recreation center and playing field of its own."

JOHNSTOWN:

The following letter, written by the General Secretary, is representative of many cases in the State:

"Up until three years ago we prided ourselves on what we were doing for the colored youth of our city, but due to a rather acute clash and difference of opinion between the colored leadership of this group and the Association we had to disband it all. Let me be perfectly clear, - the young folks themselves were quite happy over the relationship. We were affording not only rooms for club meetings, for their social and friendly get-togethers, but the gym for recreation periods. Involved on the program at that time were approximately 45 colored boys of high school age ranging from 14 to 20. Counselling with this group were three colored adults and two white adults."

Upon investigation, the staff was informed by three different Negro leaders that the colored citizens objected to the fact that Negro boys had separate times to use the facilities of the YMCA. The implications of the seriousness of the situation are evident.

HOLLIDAYSBURG:

"Very small Negro population."

The General Secretary's report shows activities for

150 white and 10 Negro boys.

BELIEFONTE:

"No distinction between white and Negro. Negro population only about 50 for Bellefonte, Pennsylvania."

However, the General Secretary's report indicates that some type of service is rendered to 15 Negro boys.

EAST LIBERTY - PITTSBURGH:

"East Liberty Branch does not work for colored people. Our Center Avenue Branch, however, is devoted 100 per cent to colored persons, and I suggest you communicate with them."

TITUSVILLE:

"In this city there are only about 50 Negro people. They have a church, have use of school facilities but not YMCA."

KANE:

"We have very few Negroes in Kane and consequently, have no race problem. We do not distinguish in any way between whites and Negroes. We have had two or three Negro boys in our membership, at a time, for a good many years."

YORK:

"Our organization does not afford any recreational facilities for colored groups."

HAZELTON:

"There are no colored persons in Hazelton or surrounding towns. The Hazelton YMCA houses colored young men who pass there as chauffeurs for traveling men."

BUTLER:

"The questionnaire presented the opportunity for me to go into the matter of the recreational facilities in our community for colored folks. I have had a lengthy session with Miss Louise G. Ferry, who up

until recently has been the Executive Secretary of our Dunbar Community Center, salary paid by WPA.

"Our colored population in Butler is not large (about 250 with about 200 more in the county). Because of that fact they are not strong enough numerically to do much for themselves. The leadership material is limited, and factional difficulties, not confined to their race, have prevented greater progress being made. In spite of difficulties the Center has made progress, although without an executive head (temporarily, we hope).

"The Center is housed in a large building formerly used as a garage. There are three large rooms on the first floor and two larger rooms on the second. They had a gymnasium on the second floor very poorly equipped, a game room on the first floor in slightly better shape, a small library, classes in various subjects under WPA leadership. This is about the extent of their activities. There are a few girls' and boys' clubs, reaching possibly fifty children. The entire work reaches about two thirds of their people.

"They do not have access to any swimming pool, except high school students in the high school pool. The race feeling, while not particularly strong here, was just strong enough to vote down very decisively a proposal to use the YMCA pool. They have no bowling alleys, although no race lines are drawn in any of our local alleys.

"We have a 'Y' field and permit playground groups including colored children to play on it. This is the extent of the picture here."

BERWICK:

"Club and game rooms have been available to colored people. Use of the swimming pool has been restricted to whites. There are very few colored people in our city and consequently the race question is not acute."

NORRISTOWN:

"This project was started last year in one of the school gyms 2 nights per week. Clubs met in churches and homes of boys called Extension Work of YMCA. Increasing it this year."

CARBONDALE:

"We have just one colored man and two Chinese in Carbondale. We have invited all three to participate in our activities but they have not availed themselves of the opportunity. We would gladly welcome them."

The Boy Scouts of America have a number of Negro Units. The following official reports are presented:

VALLEY FORGE COUNCIL - PHILADELPHIA:

One Troop in each of the following: Ardmore, Ambler, Bryn Mawr, Darby Township, Darby, North Hills, Media, Wayne, Pottstown, and the Maple Newton Patrol.

CHESTER: (Three Troops)

"Our Scout Program covers a wide range of activities and is commonly called Scoutcraft. It includes camping, hiking, first aid, mapping games, civics, etc. There are over 100 subjects involved. Our Negro troops participate fully in all the activities, and the leaders enroll in our Leadership Courses."

READING:

"I realize this is very, very late to answer your communication of September 19th regarding work with colored people. Frankly, at that time I had nothing to offer, but since that time we have re-organized our work among the colored people and now have an actively functioning Boy Scout Troop, jointly sponsored by the three colored churches of our city, and it has the capacity to serve thirty-two boys. It has a membership of twelve at the present time. Of course, you realize our population of colored people in Reading is very small."

ALLENTOWN:

"We had one colored Troop registered, but this was discontinued a year ago this month. It was located at St. James A. M. E. Zion Church, 410 Union Street, Allentown, Pennsylvania."

DELAWARE VALLEY AREA COUNCIL:

"1 Troup (some colored boys in white troop)"

ERIE COUNTY COUNCIL BOY SCOUTS:

"One (now expired)

"Our one colored Troop broke up after 2 years of weak existance, due to lack of leadership and unwillingness on the part of Negro adults to give time to the job. They resent white leadership."

BUCKS COUNTY COUNCIL, INC.:

"I regret to inform you that at present we have no Negro Scout Troops in Bucks County.

"We do have, however, a few scattered Negro Scouts in our white Troops, but regret that we have nothing that would be of value to you in your studies."

WASHINGTON AND GREENE COUNTIES:

There is one troop each in Washington, Canonsburg, and Donora.

MERCER COUNTY COUNCIL:

Sharon - "None at present, expect to have one soon. Had one two years ago which failed on account of loss of Scout Master. Glad to help."

LAWRENCE COUNTY COUNCIL:

New Castle - "1 sponsored by A.M.E. Church, Beaver Street, New Castle."

Bradford - "There are no colored units in this council area, but there are approximately 10 colored boys participating in the program."

Altoona - "We had one colored troop, but have had to drop it this year. We could find no leadership to carry on. This was connected with the colored community center in Altoona. We have no other community in our territory where there is enough colored population to organize colored scouting."

Williamsport - "Not enough colored population in any of these towns to organize patrol or troop."

"As the council's objective is stimulating each of the above Troops to conduct their own program, we have no record of the number participating weekly in any one phase or activity. In advanced scout work the individual learns to work out his own program to occupy his leisure time. The three colored units have the same opportunities as, and participate in all joint meetings or contests with, the white units in this Council."

Pottsville - One troop chartered in June, 1940, and sponsored by the Pottsville Lincoln House for Colored people, has 13 members.

"In our whole Council area which covers the whole of Schuylkill County and part of Carbon County, the only center of colored population is in Pottsville, Pennsylvania. The colored population is approximately 500, and one Troop for colored boys amply fills the needs from a Scouting standpoint."

Bethlehem - "Two Troops."

"The number of boys served in the two troops could perhaps be increased if more adequate leadership were provided by the institutions sponsoring the troops."

Troy - "No colored Troops."

"There are only about six Negro Scouts in our entire Council and these participate in the same activities as the White Scouts. There is no distinction made between the Negro Scouts and the White Scouts in this section as there are so few of them."

JUNIATA VALLEY COUNCIL:

Lowistown - "One Troop - Mt. Union. One Troop - Huntingdon."

"Mt. Union and Huntingdon are the only towns where there are enough Negro boys to maintain a colored troop. In other towns the boys have an opportunity to join white troops."

In addition to those listed above, there are two troops in the Johnstown area, two in the Harrisburg area, one each in Scranton, Lancaster, Uniontown, and Vandergrift.

Pittsburgh -

"Pittsburgh - 5 troops
 Sharpsburg Boro - 1 troop
 Duquesne Boro - 1 troop
 Rochester Boro - 1 troop
 New Brighton Boro - 1 troop

"The Boy Scout Program covering a wide range of subjects, activities, services, etc., including those checked above, is open to all troops. The efficiency of the program depends to a great extent upon the volunteer workers, troop committee, scout master, sponsoring institution, etc."

Philadelphia - "Our jurisdiction is limited to the city of Philadelphia where we have twelve troops of Negro boys.

"Scout troops are organized when a sponsoring group with facilities and satisfactory leadership desire to organize a troop. The majority of our scout troops, both among white as well as colored, are sponsored by churches, and in this respect there are numerous colored churches which in our opinion might sponsor a troop for their boys if they would but make their facilities available and provide the necessary volunteer leadership."

In review, the most wholesome and educative recreational work is being done by private, tax-free, non-profit agencies, organizations and institutions. However, there are several rather serious handicaps to this class of facilities and services. First, as has been observed, many of these agencies and organizations require competent volunteer services. This is especially true of many of the services of the YMCA and

YWCA for young people and also the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts. So far as Negroes are concerned, in many small communities competent free services cannot be found. In other instances, qualified Negroes are not available because they feel that Negroes should be integrated as are other persons into the regular programs of these organizations. Moreover, they are opposed to separate units. Many other Negroes give lip service only. It is well for many whites who promote these separate units to know that their efforts are greatly appreciated by many Negroes but that their work is nevertheless handicapped because of restrictions and exclusions. Naturally, these attitudes are reflected in the actions of Negro youth and Negroes in general. Evidences of both of these expressions are manifested everywhere in the State daily. This explains both the laudation of sponsoring whites by some Negroes on the one hand and the apathy and positive opposition of other Negroes. Thus, Negro units open, flourish, operate very poorly, and close both gradually and suddenly. Second, there is a shortage of these more qualified facilities for all the people. Third, only a few such agencies serve both races; of those which do, rarely do they serve both races unless some type of restriction is placed upon their respective Negro constituencies. These discriminatory acts, being resented by many Negroes, further limit the number of Negro participants. Whenever Negro resentment becomes crystallized, it, in turn, tends to discourage the number of agencies which may be inclined to serve both races. Fourth, were it desirable by all

Negroes, in scores of municipalities in the State there are not enough Negroes to justify a first class all-Negro recreation center. Moreover, this number is always diminished by the fact that in every such municipality, there are always a number of Negroes who protest what they call "donated segregation". However, rarely are such persons ever able to realize the type of center which they regard as approaching their ideal. Nevertheless, except in the case of Lincoln House, located in Pottsville, there is not a group of leading white people in the State who have conceived of a Christian and democratic recreation center who have impleted this idea with funds. Consequently, for any positive purpose, the already too few Negroes are further divided and reduced. Fifth, in cities like Chester, Coatesville, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and to a less extent Harrisburg, the number of all-Negro organizations promoting private, non-profit recreation is far too inadequate to meet the needs of their respective Negro populations. Their inadequacy arises out of several reasons, among the most practical is that the combined support of those Negroes who receive the benefits of these organizations and the whites who subsidize them has not as yet been sufficient. Hence, due to many complications, there is a serious shortage of the more qualified type of recreational facilities. In the meantime, Negroes suffer. They are thus often driven to supplement private recreation of the better type with commercialized recreation and often vices.

A brief survey of the State's recreational needs and the available facilities and services to meet these needs unquestionably indicate that there should be a closer organic relationship between formal education and organized recreation. From the point of view of public expenditure, this can be somewhat easily done between the public schools and public recreation bureaus. Be it understood, however, that mere merger or close integration per se will not work miracles. It is assumed that there will be additional funds for the work which must be intelligently and democratically planned and executed. Next, on the basis of non-profit agencies, there should be very close coordination between the public schools and the bureaus of recreation on the one hand and private, tax-free, non-profit recreational agencies on the other. Such a plan properly conceived would be economical; it should tend to stress active and individual instead of passive and spectator participation in recreation; it should stress and encourage the use of leisure time for the promotion of physical and mental health; it would magnify the spiritual and aesthetic instead of the all too uncreative and dissipating types of recreation now engaged in by all too large a number of people of both races. The recreational needs arising out of the war effort accentuate the urgency of such a program. Post-war planning demands it.

EDUCATION

From all available records, Pennsylvania was the first colony to develop systematic education for Negroes. On February 19, 1722, the following advertisement appeared in The American Weekly Mercury of Philadelphia:

"Take further notice, there is lately arriv'd in this City a Person who freely offers his service to his poor Brethren the Negroes to read the Holy Scriptures, etc.** without any Manner of Expense to their respective masters and mistresses."

In 1740, George Whitfield opened a school for free Negroes but it failed because of the lack of funds. In 1750, Anthony Benezet, a French Quaker, established an evening school for Negroes in Philadelphia. In January, 1770, at the Friends' Monthly Meeting in Philadelphia it was decided to establish a school for free Negroes and mulattoes, "clear of expense to their parents." In June, 1770, the school was opened. Immediately following this school, the Friends established many other such schools. In 1771, the Vaux School was opened. This school was the first mixed school in Philadelphia. The Revolutionary War impeded the progress of these schools but as soon as it was over schools for Negroes began to increase. When Anthony Benezet died in 1784, he left an endowment for the education of Negroes. In 1784, the Haspborry Allen School was founded by the Quakers and continued for more than a hundred and twenty-five years. In 1827, the Infant School was established. In 1837, the Institute for Colored Youth was established; it continues today as the Cheyney Training School for Teachers. In addition thereto, there were a number

of schools connected with institutions of the orphanage and reformatory types.

By 1800, Negro Episcopalian, Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian congregations were operating schools for Negro children. These schools rendered a great service to the cause of Negro education. As compared with the schools established by the Friends, they did fairly good work. However, they were short-lived. By 1838, there were ten such schools in Philadelphia; one in Pittsburgh, and one in Arthursville. Others were established elsewhere. As a rule, these schools were established to meet some specific need of the time; as soon as the need was filled or when they failed to obtain sufficient financial support they were closed.

In later years, despite the growth of public schools and numerous other types of educational institutions, Negroes continued to establish institutions wherever they felt the need therefor. Two of these schools, founded in more recent years, are continuing their valuable services.

The Berean School of Philadelphia was founded in 1899 by Dr. Matthew Anderson, who also founded the Berean Presbyterian Church and the Berean Savings and Loan Association. The School continues under the leadership of Mrs. Blanche Williams Anderson, wife of the founder. Berean is co-educational and non-sectarian. It offers a variety of vocational courses centering around business administration and the secretarial-stenographic field. The work of the school is conducted on the level of a vocational junior college. It is accredited by the Committee

on Standards for Pennsylvania Approved Business Schools. Because of the calibre of the work and the need therefor, Berean receives State-aid, which enables the institution to offer a number of scholarships.

The Downingtown Industrial School is the brain-child of the Reverend William A. Creditt, a graduate of Lincoln University and the former pastor of Cherry Memorial Baptist Church in Philadelphia. His vision became a reality through the generosity of John S. Trower, a well-to-do Negro caterer of Germantown. The school was founded in 1905 with Dr. Creditt as its Principal. Dr. Creditt continued as its head until his death in 1921 and was succeeded by Dr. J.H.N. Waring, a former school administrator of Washington. In 1923, Dr. Waring died and was succeeded by his son, Mr. J.H.N. Waring, Jr., who continues as its Principal. The institution is a state-aided, co-educational, vocational school on the secondary level. It is a residential institution having a capacity for sixty boys and fifty girls. The following statement, prepared for the Commission by Mr. Waring, is very descriptive of the school:

"The economic and social background of the children who enter Downingtown has as much to do with their presence in the school as their desire for any particular type of training. This background divides the children into social groups:

1. There are those whose parents work and are away from home most or all of the time. These children, if left to their own resources, might soon become delinquents. So their parents seek primarily a boarding school --- regardless of the educational training it gives.

2. Many parents are unable to provide a home for their children, they live in where they work. So the boarding school becomes the home for their children.

3. A goodly percentage of Downingtown's children come from broken families. The moral conditions arising from such situations make it imperative that the mother or father get the child away.

4. Some children become maladjusted in the public schools, especially when their teachers are white and unsympathetic to Negroes. Boarding school often offers a new outlook and opportunity to such children.

5. All too often Negro children live in communities which are beehives of vice and crime. Ambitious parents, who want to save their children from delinquency, fall back upon the boarding school.

6. A fairly large group of Negro boys and girls are orphans, supported by social agencies or perhaps by relatives or friends. The boarding school may become the only home such children know.

" At present Downingtown, to meet the needs of all such children, offers the academic work of grades 8 to 12. Its college preparatory course was accredited by the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction in March 1941. It offers an unaccredited Certificate of High School Completion to students of lesser ability. For the girls there are courses in general Home Economics, Typing, and Stenography. Vocational work for boys is limited to courses in Automechanics, Carpentry, and some welding."

The Continental Congress considered it "useless" to educate Negroes and for a long time in Pennsylvania, it was a felony for a Negro "to be caught with a book in his hands". The acts of 1802 and 1804, which provided free education for poor children, did not mention the Negro. Although free schools actually came later, the following statement from PENNSYLVANIA, A GUIDE TO THE KEYSTONE STATE, has much truth in it:

"When the free-school laws were passed, Negroes were not excluded from enjoying their benefits, but for many years Negro education was neglected. Although it was assumed that Negro children were not to attend the same schools as white children, very often no other schools were provided for them; and when they were, the schools were in such poor physical condition and so badly administered as to discourage attendance. In Pittsburgh, for instance, the situation was so grave that in 1849 the Negroes began a strong fight to obtain equal standards with whites; during the following decade, many Negro schools were built. The immediate result of the campaign was the donation of approximately \$30,000 by the Reverend Charles Avery, an abolitionist, for a new co-educational non-sectarian school, the Allegheny Institute and Mission Church. This was the first institution of higher education to employ an all-Negro faculty. Avery bequeathed \$25,000 to the institution, and the name was changed to Avery College in his honor. It continued to operate successfully until after the Civil War." (1)

In 1822, the first Negro public school was opened in Philadelphia. After the Civil War, large numbers of Negroes came to Pennsylvania and it became evident that the education of the Negro was no longer a matter of charity but a public duty. Hence, whereas the public schools were much less efficient than the "charity schools" of the Quakers and some of the Negro organized and operated schools, after the Civil War, they improved so rapidly that "charity schools" could not compete with them. The "charity schools" began to change their curricula but as time went on, they gradually disappeared so that today only the Cheyney Training School for Teachers is still in existence.

(1)

The Public Schools started as distinctly Negro schools but were tax-supported. However, on June 8, 1881, the Legislature passed an Act which abolished separate schools as such and provided mixed schools. The law reads, in part:

"It shall be unlawful for any school director, superintendent, or teacher to make any distinction whatever on account of, or by reason of, the race or color of any pupil or scholar who may be in attendance upon or seeking admission to, any public or common school maintained wholly or in part under the school laws of the Commonwealth".

This law, therefore, gave Negro parents the right to send their children to any public school for which they were eligible. In every locality, there were Negroes who insisted upon this right. However, in Philadelphia, it was a considerable time before Negro children could attend these schools without embarrassment. In other localities various methods were used to discourage Negro children from attending school. Howbeit, they continued to attend and by 1900 the opposition had practically ceased.

34. The Status of the Negro Pupil

There has been a steady increase in the percentage of Negroes between the ages of five and twenty attending school. In 1900, 54.7% of the native white and 44.3% of the Negro children between the ages of five and twenty were attending school. In 1910, the percentage for native whites was 61.1 and 55.1 for Negroes; in 1920, the percentages were 65.4 and 59.4 respectively for native whites and Negroes; in 1930, the percentages were 70.0 and 65.6 respectively; and in 1940, they

were 72.6 and 73.5 respectively.

It will be noted from Table XXII that in 1940, although Negroes were only 13% of the total population of Philadelphia, Negro pupils constituted 20.5% of the school enrollment. Likewise, in 1940, Negroes were 9.3% of the total population of Pittsburgh but had 12.68% of the total school enrollment. This obtains despite the fact that the percentage of Negroes of school age throughout the State is slightly less than that of whites. In the preceeding decade, whites have been moving in the suburbs of Philadelphia so that by 1940 the Negro population had greatly increased and the white population had decreased. In addition thereto, in numerous instances, suburban Negroes send their children to Philadelphia schools. Howbeit, attendance statistics for all of these decades indicate that Negro pupils "drop out" at a rate which exceeds that of native white children. This decline becomes noticeable as Negro pupils reach the non-compulsory school age; it continues persistently throughout secondary school, college, and professional schools. A part of the results of this tendency are indicated in the most recent census data. The 1940 census shows that whereas 11.6% of the male native white population fourteen years of age and older was in school, only 8.8% of the male Negro population of the same age grouping was in school. For the women of the white and Negro races, the figures were 10.4% and 8.5% respectively. Further, whereas only 0.8% of the native white population twenty-five years of age and older was classified as having "no school years completed", 5.6% of the Negro population was

so classified. Thus, the percentage of Negroes, even twenty-five year old, without any formal education in the State is seven times that of native whites. Whereas 4.8% of the native white population had completed ^{only} grades one to four, 20.0% of the Negro population was so classified. From another point of view, more than one-fourth of the Negro population of the State twenty-five years of age and older has not had more than a fourth grade education. To be sure, most of this is due to southern background; nevertheless, now that these persons are residents of the State, their misfortune is reflected in the general status of Negro education in Pennsylvania.

Many factors, ranging from the failure of many truant officers, home and school visitors, and school authorities to make attendance regulations as effective in regard to Negro pupils and their parents as they do on white pupils and their parents, to the failure of the sum total of curricular and extra-curricular offerings to meet the interests and needs of a number of Negro pupils, accumulate to produce this general fact. Likewise, the percentage of retardation among Negro children is greater than among whites. Consequently, Negro pupils are somewhat below the median promotion rate of the general school population.

Aside from general statistical data, much of the material used in the study of the status of the Negro pupil was obtained from questionnaires sent to superintendents of schools and interviews with many of them. Schedules were sent to all township and county superintendents in the State. Special

studies were made of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. There are numerous school districts which have no Negro pupils or which have fewer than three Negro pupils. In those districts where there are only a few Negroes, superintendents seldom indicate that Negro pupils present a serious problem. Where there are a number of Negro pupils present, special study is necessary inasmuch as our respondents avoid stating in writing very serious problems with Negro children. Our observations have been that most often when our respondents answered a given question, they gave us their honest opinions. However, through interviews and other procedures, we found that some of our respondents did have definite ideas about certain questions which they did not answer on our schedules.

We asked our respondents to indicate whether, according to various tests, Negro pupils were superior to white pupils, about average, or below average. This question was not answered by 41 respondents. However, of the twenty-seven answering respondents, one said that Negro pupils were superior; sixteen said that Negroes were about average, and ten said that Negroes were below average. Most replies were based upon tests of achievement in subject matter taught, and native ability. In those cases where the Negroes were below the median value of the respective scores, often, there was a significant difference between Negro and white pupils. As has been pointed out, environmental factors weighed heavily against the Negro pupil. In addition thereto, knowing that modern psychology and anthropology do not support the belief of significant differences in native

ability between the Negro and white races, as such, it is not necessary to dwell on the results of tests of native ability.

Howbeit, the results in certain localities need interpretation. In many sections of municipalities, townships, etc., the majority of white people belong to the upper classes among the white population, whereas the majority of Negroes who live in these sections are domestics and are "average" members of the Negro race. In one such township, we compared test results of the children of such Negroes with the test results of children of certain white racial groups whose identity could easily be detected. It was disclosed that one white group stood below the median value. In fact, this white group had a mean value which was significantly equal to that of the Negro pupils. By inspection, it was self-evident that this white group had an economic status and an acculturation status somewhat similar to Negroes. True enough, teachers, native white neighbors of the upper class, and others, often said, "Well, the _____ are worse than Negroes."

That it is possible for certain underprivileged white groups to fall into or below typical Negro classifications and categories is of no essential comfort to Negroes or to those persons interested in the promotion of the general commonweal. It merely shows that race per se is not necessarily correlated with either backwardness or forwardness, failure or success. The proper change of environmental conditions and attitudes would largely erase the differences which now seem natural and unsurmountable to many people.

At the request of the Executive Director of the Commission, Professor Roderic Donald Matthews of the School of Education, University of Pennsylvania, supervised the following study made by Miss Regina Collier, a graduate student at the University:

"Relative Scores Earned in English by One Hundred Philadelphia Senior High School Students, Negro and White

"A comparative study was made of the relative scores earned by fifty Negro students and fifty white students of the same Philadelphia senior high school. The test in reading was administered when the students were members of the 10A class; tests in usage, spelling, and vocabulary, when they were members of the 10B class. The Reading Test was constructed by the Division of Educational Research of the Philadelphia Board of Public Education; the Cooperative English Test, by the American Council on Education. In all cases, the same tests were given, or complementary forms of the same difficulty. By comparison with established norms, the normal scores were translated into relative scores, ranging from 1 (low) to 5 (high), 3 being the median.

"The students were selected alphabetically from permanent records. They were arranged in pairs, one Negro student and one white student, by matching the I.Q.'s. In three cases, in which the I. Q.'s could not be matched exactly, those differing only one or two points were used: 110, 108, 91, 90, 89, 88.

"A study was made of relative scores earned by each pair to find out whether the Negro student or the white student excelled. A tabulation of results indicates higher scores for the white students in reading, usage and the cooperative English total; higher scores by the Negro students in spelling and vocabulary. It is interesting to note that in vocabulary the Negro students are quite definitely ahead, while in usage the white students have a decided advantage. Also, although the white students have a greater number of higher scores in the cooperative English total, twenty-three Negro and white have the same score.

"TABULATION OF HIGHER SCORES

	Number of Students With Higher Scores		Same Scores	No Examination Taken
	Negro	White		
Reading	14	18	8	10
Cooperative English Total	12	15	23	0
Usage	12	26	12	0
Spelling	22	17	11	0
Vocabulary	27	15	8	0 "

The fact that Negro students excelled in spelling and vocabulary and fell below white students in reading and language usage can be generally explained in terms of background and environmental factors. Taken as a group, the English usage of the relatives and friends of the typical white pupil is on a higher level than that of the relatives and friends of the typical Negro child. Consequently, generally, the white child hears better English spoken. Likewise, he gets more experience in the correct usage of English than the Negro child. For the most part, relatives and friends of white children read more than those of Negroes; also they have more funds with which to purchase interesting reading for their children. Thus, by precept and example, the typical white child is given more encouragement to read than the typical Negro child. Reading, in turn, improves good usage; and so it goes. These disadvantages of Negro pupils are, then, socio-economic.

Wherever differences in native ability, school grades, or objective tests were indicated between the two racial

groups, superintendents were asked to list the causes for such differences. Unfortunately, only five respondents replied. Their replies were: "Low mentality"; "Heredity and environment"; "No explanation on basis of race"; "Heredity and environment"; and "Poor home conditions, lower standard of living, lack of experience outside of school, and lower native ability". Admitting that our respondents need to be brought to date on some things, we have a strong point of agreement and are upon excellent mutual working ground when public school superintendents realize that the environment of the Negro pupil is at least considerably responsible for his present school status. Upon the mutual recognition of this fact, there could be built a constructive interracial program of social action.

In the considered opinions of many teachers, administrators, store keepers in immediate vicinities of schools, school bus drivers, street car operators, policemen on duty in school zones, and others who are in a position to observe the conduct of the pupils of both races, as compared with other children, Negro children present more problems of misconduct. Your staff finds that on the whole, the cardinal aims, facilities, services, and instrumentations of education influence Negro pupils less than they do white pupils. Consequently, too many teachers, administrators, and others have begun to think of the typical Negro pupil in terms of some problem whether it be in nutrition, native ability, truancy, low school grades, difficulty in finding suitable employment, fighting, a general

lack of interest in the school's program, protesting against racial discrimination, or general debility.

It is significant to emphasize that while the vast majority of Negro children and children of other races are never delinquent, the failure of the citizens of the State to apply the principles of democracy to the Negro has created an environment for Negro pupils which tend to promote delinquent attitudes in them with much more definiteness and with a greater severity than is true among white children.

Even the school constituency, too much an echo of prevailing public opinion, often promotes delinquent attitudes in Negro pupils. This, it does, not only through direct curricular and extra-curricular discriminatory acts against Negro pupils but also indirectly by not electing or appointing a reasonable number of competent Negroes to local and county boards of education, by the disproportionately meagre and differential appointment of Negro administrators and teachers, and by the use of text-books which either deride, neglect, or otherwise emphasize the accomplishments of other races to the detriment of Negroes. Consequently, the school is a part of: both the cause and effect of the problem side of the Negro child. Your Commission finds that these handicaps are comparatively easy to reduce to a minimum and that by so doing the school will make its greatest contribution to the future of American democracy. In undertaking such a task, it must be kept in mind that this type of ethical idealism is most practical for, in just such proportions as the school discriminates, it reduces its effectiveness as a moral and educational force.

Although the school bears a part of the blame for the excessive delinquent attitudes in Negro children, the home, the church, and the State, the other pillars of society, are more responsible. In proportion as these fundamental institutions fail to do their share, the burden of the school increases. Too often, these three institutions foist their duties upon the school. Needless to say, there is a point beyond which the school cannot function properly with added burdens which are foreign to formal education. Nevertheless, given the proper machinery, the school can render a most unique service to the State, the church, and the home through the discovery, diagnosis, and preliminary treatment of pre-delinquents. Such a program properly conceived and administered would reduce considerably, the problems of the school and thereby enable ~~it~~ to perform its functions more efficiently. There are sufficient established techniques to insure the success of such a program. It would seem that here is an opportunity which must be regarded as a duty.

In order to secure additional information on this subject, superintendents were requested to summarize teachers' reports and give an estimate as to how teachers felt Negro pupils compared with white pupils in terms of conduct, interest in school work, school spirit, and sociability. The replies were as follows: "In such a minority that their conduct is poor - interest in work is fair - school spirit very average - sociability poor (timid)"; "On a par with average white children"; "Favorable"; "Below average"; "About average";

"About the same, except ability"; "Fall within the average group"; "As a whole, similar to white children"; "below average generally"; "Same"; Favorably - no difference"; "Same level"; "Slightly below average as a whole"; "Good"; "Average"; "Equally as good"; "About average"; "Favorable"; "Substantially the same"; "Average"; "About average"; "Little below average"; "Average".

Such a reaction on the part of teachers, as it has been interpreted by superintendents, is rather remarkable and offers wide areas of contact for the study and solution of many problems of Negro children.

In Philadelphia Miss Collier made a similar study which is given below:

"COMPARATIVE RATING OF TEACHERS OF NEGRO AND WHITE STUDENTS IN A PHILADELPHIA SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

"In an effort to compare the characteristics and the performance of Negro students and white students in a Philadelphia senior high school, one hundred and five teachers, representing all the departments of the school -- academic, commercial, industrial, mechanic arts, music, physical education -- were requested to check the work which, in their opinions, best indicates how the Negro students compare with the white in conduct, interest in work, school spirit, sociability, native ability, scholastic achievement, Negro students represent, approximately, 18% of the school population. The following is a summary of the teachers' opinions:

	Much Better Than Whites	Better Than Whites	Same as Whites	Poorer Than Whites	Much Poorer Than Whites
Conduct		1	41	47	16
Interest in Work			23	62	20
School Spirit		1	35	49	20
Sociability (a)	8	34	46	11	5
Native Ability			19	67	19
Scholastic Achievement		1	8	59	37

(a) Not rated by one teacher

"Several of the teachers pointed out the difficulty of generalizing, stating that the colored students who reach the upper grades of the senior high school, particularly the 12B grade, are decidedly superior to the colored students in the lower grades, and compare very favorably with white students in the upper levels.

* * * * *

"Failure of Negro students to participate to any extent in such activities as the Students' Association and the Athletic Association was given by several teachers as the reason for rating the students low in school spirit. Some of the teachers believe, however, that inability to pay dues, rather than lack of interest, may account for this lack of participation.

"The rating in sociability is very interesting. This is the only characteristic in which the Negro students have been rated appreciably higher than the white students. There are some teachers who think that the sociability of the Negro students is too frequently confined to their own race, and that it could well be used to bring about increased friendliness between the two races.

"Regarding low ratings in conduct and interest in work, a school counselor, who visits the homes, offers this explanation: 'Much of the truancy and delinquency among the colored students is caused by their poor background. On the whole, they are from families of low income, in which mothers work and children are left unsupervised. Malnutrition is also evidenced. Failures in scholarship are caused by inability to cope with the course of study. Gradually, discouragement becomes the major factor. Then truancy and other delinquencies occur.

"The consensus of opinion among the teachers seems to be that Negro students are frequently handicapped by inferior environmental conditions resulting from a low economic status. The amelioration of such conditions through a carefully planned program of improvement should have a marked effect upon the attitudes and the achievement of the Negro students in the public schools."

Case studies of the Commission among Negroes on "school spirit" are exceedingly significant. In those junior and senior high schools in which there are a few Negro students who are outstanding in inter-scholastic athletics or who rank high scholastically, the entire Negro community has the greatest enthusiasm for such schools. Such events are cherished and long remembered. On the whole, in spite of many discriminations, certainly no group can exceed Negroes in school loyalty, sociability, and school spirit. Public school officials would do well to make use of these very valuable assets which are so evident in hundreds of instances. The Negro desires "a sense of belonging."

In speaking of sociability, visits to numerous mixed schools show that most often, Negro pupils will voluntarily congregate in one place, or occupy a table in the lunch room together, or sit near each other in class, or in the auditorium. To many teachers and administrators, this tendency toward voluntary segregation is "only natural". Hence, too often, they directly and indirectly encourage Negro pupils to thus "stay to themselves". Strange as it may seem, wherever there are a score or more such Negroes in a given school such a grouping instead of being "only natural" is rather unnatural. Being human, Negro pupils differ as widely as whites in their interests, abilities, aptitudes, achievements, attitudes, degree of sociability, conduct, personalities, physical attractiveness, and all other factors except wealth and social position, upon which social groupings are made. Only the social distance created by race and its attendant evils force Negroes to voluntarily

congregate in this manner.

Superintendents were asked to indicate which of the extra-curricular or co-curricular activities listed in Table XIX were participated in freely by Negro pupils.

TABLE XIX
SCHOOL ACTIVITIES IN WHICH NEGROES
PARTICIPATED FREELY

Athletic Teams	36
Trips and Excursions	35
Interest Groups	27
Parent-Teacher Associations	18
School Dances	27
Plays and Musicales	30
Alumni Dinners & Gatherings	19

There were 13 of the 68 respondents who had no Negro pupils; 56 respondents checked the items as the above frequencies indicate. The frequency of participation of athletic events, plays and musicales, agrees with what Negroes themselves say; while the high frequency indicated by trips and excursions does not. Perhaps our respondents interpret the question differently from Negro parents and Negro pupils who say that, excepting athletic trips, Negro pupils do not participate freely. Most often, Negro students and their parents say that Negro students are not welcome on non-athletic trips and excursions; often they are discriminated against on such trips. The interest group participation is encouraging. Our respondents were very accurate in describing the participation of Negro parents in parent-teacher meetings.

Negro parents admit that they should show more interest in this phase of school responsibility and opportunity . The problems of Negro pupils would be greatly reduced if their parents would take a more active interest in these meetings and the types of relationships which they represent.

The following suggestions of Dean Frank T. Wilson are very helpful in this regard:

1. Require principals to inform Negro parents concerning the existence and functions of Parent Teacher Associations.

2. Instruct visiting teachers to encourage parents to take advantage of their privileges and opportunities as participants in P.T.A.'s.

3. Suggest that Negro organizations, especially churches and fraternal orders, inform their constituencies regarding the value of the local P.T.A.

4. Advise school offices to release frequent announcements in the local press which would catch the eye of all citizens.

5. Advise local P.T.A. officers to plan meetings at hours that suit the convenience of parents in the lower socio-economic bracket. (1)

In the matter of participation in school dances, there is the widest difference of opinion between our respondents, all of whom are white, and the Negroes interviewed. Many Negro pupils and their parents stated that Negro pupils were not welcome at school dances. Other Negroes said that when they did attend such affairs they were forced to dance among

(1)

Cf. Exhibit No. 18

themselves. This perhaps, accounts for some differences of opinion between Negroes and our respondents on the freedom with which Negroes participated in school dances. In the matter of alumni gatherings and dinners there was close agreement between the replies of our respondents and Negro opinion.

In 1940, respondents were asked if they or their co-workers found it difficult to place Negro graduates. With the exception of jobs in domestic service and similar employment, only one respondent indicated equality of opportunity. Others definitely said that there was difficulty to the point of impossibility in placing competent Negro students in other than menial jobs. The replies are considerably in harmony with the actual employment situation disclosed in our study of unemployment among Negroes from 1938 through 1941.

In 1940, the NYA, under the Direction of Mr. Rufus Watson, formerly State Advisor on Negro Affairs, surveyed Negro leaders throughout the State regarding employment problems facing the Negro youth of the State. He asked them the following question:

"What are the major problems confronting Negro youth securing jobs in your city or county?"

The responses were very interesting and informative. Later, with the permission of Mr. Watson, the Commission surveyed some twenty more Negro leaders in eight localities not included in Mr. Watson's study. Omitting duplications and counting the replies to both studies, the results are herein briefly summarized. The replies indicated that during the previous decade,

there was an oversupply of all types of labor. This factor afforded an opportunity for prejudiced employers either to exclude Negroes entirely or to restrict them to menial types of employment. Moreover, in thousands of instances, Negroes were being replaced by whites in menial jobs. However, in fairness to employers, granted an excess of labor supply, an employer, who is unrestricted in his power to hire, is expected to employ those persons with the most favorable training and experience. Because the Negro youth was handicapped disproportionately with reference to training and experience, he was a poor competitor for the more preferable jobs. Nevertheless, it must be added that although employer prejudice against Negroes and employer preference for white workers have often excluded or restricted Negro workers, there were **many** employers who were prevented from hiring Negroes by the employees themselves who either refused to work with Negroes or restricted them to menial jobs.

Negro leaders were aware of the fact that, as compared with white youths, Negro youths lacked vocational training and experience. However, when asked if adequate vocational training was offered in their respective public school systems, eight Negroes replied: "Yes"; six replied "No"; while eighteen replied "Limited". In times when there was an excess of labor, union and school officials were not anxious to increase the facilities for vocational education. Admitting a certain amount of selfishness and short-sightedness, existing facilities seemed adequate to these officials. However, the unions are involved again

in that, in the estimation of twenty Negro leaders representing eighteen different localities, Negro apprenticeships were either very limited or did not exist at all. Six respondents indicated that apprenticeship for Negroes was very limited; fourteen said that Negroes were denied the opportunity. Admitting that many unions also restricted white youths in this regard, the situation was very much worse for Negro youths.

In 1939, the Division of Industrial Arts of the Board of Public Education of Philadelphia, in collaboration with the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction, published a study on the "Industrial Opportunities for Negro Youth in the Manufacturing Industries of Philadelphia." The following statement which is taken from this study is very significant:

"A second factor is the limited opportunity extended to Negroes for apprenticeship training in factories. In only 3 of the 784 factories contacted were Negro youths serving as apprentices". (1)

From this study, it would seem that Negro leaders have the correct impression about the very limited opportunity for Negro apprenticeships. Given these handicaps, it is clear that the lack of training and experience on the part of Negro youth is closely related to handicaps in obtaining training and experience. Moreover, Negro youths were aware of the fact that trained Negroes had greater difficulty in obtaining jobs commensurate with their training and also with their experience.

Thus, the courage required to seek the vocational training in the face of such employment difficulties was greater than many Negro youths had. Despite the logic of being prepared, few youth of any race could be expected to overcome such difficulties. After Pearl Harbor, things changed considerably but for thousands of Negroes the damage had already been done and was irreparable.

Howbeit, Negro leaders pointed out that, in addition to the need for guidance, too often, Negro youth were unreliable; they were not punctual; they were, too often, impolite; they were undecided as to what they wanted to do; and that many of them were given to unpleasant appearances. One very successful Negro woman made a significant observation when she stated that too often Negro youth lacked diplomacy in holding jobs under difficult situations. Generally, a Negro employee has to be above average to obtain a job, hold it, and be advanced thereon. Admitting exceptions, being "up-graded" to the limits of reliability, competency, and loyalty is rare for Negro workers.

From the foregoing, it is evident that labor unions, employers, employees, Negro parents and their children have obligations in regard to the training and employment problems of Negro youth. Although the volume of Negro employment has greatly increased, the restrictions and exclusions of former years still remain. Consequently, unless some efforts are made to secure wider occupational diffusion for Negroes, Negro school problems, in the post-war period, will tend to revert to their former status.

Responsible and satisfying employment is correlated with the cardinal aims of education. Hence, insofar as the the school, for whatever reason, is unable to discharge its vocational functions, it is thereby failing in its program. This failure increases the problem side of Negro pupils. Thus, again, we return to the statement that taking all factors into account the school is, at once, a part of the cause and effect of the present status of Negro pupils in Pennsylvania. Although the school, both a pillar and creature of society, is not responsible per se for all of the problems confronting Negro pupils, it has its responsibilities to and for them. The implications are clear.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that the typical Negro pupil suffers by comparison with the typical white pupil, many Negro pupils have distinguished themselves in every phase of school activity. They have been honored by boards of education, administrators, faculties, alumni, and their respective communities. Hence, in spite of handicaps, this record should challenge and inspire Negro youth to greater achievement. Herein lies an opportunity for Negro leadership to do an outstanding service.

From Table XX it is observed that as of June, 1942, 5,096 or 14.5% of the 35,004 secondary school pupils of Pittsburgh were Negroes.

Table XX

Pupils in the Public Schools of
Pittsburgh, 1941 - 42

SECONDARY SCHOOLS	Total Negro	VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS	Total Negro
Allderdice, Taylor Jr. Sr. High	3119 7	Allegheny	668 12
Allegheny High	1583 87	Connolley	1489 62
Arsenal Jr. High	1076 115	Girls-Bellefield	575 27
Baxter Jr. High	1008 349	Girls-Morse	356 --
Carrick Jr.Sr. High	1195 2	South	451 1
Conroy J.M.Jr. High	1052 170	Washington	767 24
5th Ave.Jr.Sr. High	1614 648	Girls-Irwin Ave.	341 15
Gladstone Jr. High	982 83		4647 141
Herren Hill Jr.High	1672 1396	SPECIAL SCHOOLS	
Knoxville Jr. High	1413 107	Arsenal Open Air	23 --
Langley S.B. & Sr.High	1839 47	Bellefield Sight	
Latimer Jr. High	1566 92	Conservation	20 7
Oliver,D.B. Jr. Sr. High	2482 158	Children's Hospital	102 --
Overbrook Jr. High	264 3	Frick Hearing	28 4
Peabody High	2833 223	Moohad Open Air	34 15
Perry Jr.Sr. High	1308 34	Frick Nursery	23 --
Prospect Jr. High	805 19	Homebound	86 6
Schenley High	2702 742	Heart House	34 3
South Side Jr. Sr High	1464 57		350 35
South Hills Sr. High	2242 57	INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS	
Westinghouse Jr. Sr. High	2785 688	Somers Trade	332 297
	35004 5096		

This enrollment figure for Negroes becomes significant when it is pointed out in Table XXI that of a total population of children from one day to twenty years of age in June, 1942, only 20,777, out of 221,151, or 9.4% were Negroes.

Correspondingly, Negro pupils were in excess proportion in the elementary school population, representing 9,062 or 17.6%

of 51,469 pupils. In summary, during the 1941-1942 school year there were 91,882 pupils enrolled in the public schools of Pittsburgh; and of this total number, 14,631 or 15.9% of them were Negroes. Hence, the Negro school attendance population was 1.7 times the Negro's proportion in the general population.

TABLE XXI

Comparative School Census Data
of Pittsburgh, 1925 - 1942

Year	White	Colored	Total	Year	White	Colored	Total
1925*	142,618	9,475	152,091	1936**	207,249	17,834	225,083
1930*	146,320	13,207	159,527	1937**	206,725	18,850	225,475
1931*	146,180	12,567	158,747	1938**	200,399	20,011	220,410
1932*	144,696	13,726	158,422	1939**	195,062	19,496	214,558
1933*	140,610	12,615	153,225	1940**	195,918	19,785	215,703
1934**	214,985	15,648	230,633	1941**	197,685	19,968	217,653
1935**	216,519	17,896	234,415	1942**	200,374	20,777	221,151

The high enrollment of Negro students may be attributed partly to the fact that there are fewer attractions for diverse employment afforded them; hence, they tend to enter high school in proportionately large numbers and to remain there longer. Moreover, there are a large number of Negroes who work in the suburbs but who send their children to school in the city. Next, many whites have moved away from the city to its nearby suburbs. Perhaps of more proportionate importance is the fact that Pittsburgh has a rather large foreign-born population. These people

* School census showing children in the city of Pittsburgh between the ages of 4 and 16 for the year 1925 and annually from 1930 through 1933;

** School census of children in city of Pittsburgh between ages of 1 day & twenty years inclusive from 1934 through 1942.

do not send their children to secondary school in percentages which equal those of the general population. All of these factors, by comparison, increase the percentage of Negro secondary school attendance.

Unfortunately, Negro enrollment in vocational schools show an entirely different picture. In June of 1942, the total enrollment in seven vocational high schools was 4,647 pupils. Only 141 Negroes were enrolled, or 3.03% of the total. In 1940, only 2.45% of the vocational school enrollment were Negroes. Moreover, this situation has obtained for a long time in the Pittsburgh school system. In view of the fact that Negroes do not enroll in vocational schools in proportion to their ratio in the total school enrollment, the Commission asked the Pittsburgh school authorities: "What is the basis on which students are permitted to select vocational courses?" The official reply is given below: (The five following factors are considered in accepting boys in vocational schools):

A. Failing subjects -- It is of special value to know previous grades in such subjects as English, mathematics, and science.

B. Shop grade -- the majority of pupils entering vocational school have had opportunity to develop their skills and abilities in classes of manual training in an academic school.

C. Intelligence Quotient

D. School attendance

E. Citizenship -- Industrial reports verify the statement that more employees lose their positions because of social maladjustments than for inefficiency or inability to do the job. Ever so many years of training will not make a boy employable in his work if he has not been a good citizen in school. For

instance, not only the fact that he may equip himself to become an excellent mechanic counts, but he must also be able to adjust himself to the people for whom and with whom he works.

A much more potent answer to the problem involved, however, is answered in the official reply to the following question: "What are the particular problems of guidance presented by the Junior and Senior High Schools and by the Vocational Schools that are attended by Negroes in large numbers?"

The official reply to this question:

"One difficulty is making guidance realistic without facing accusations of prejudice. *** and that occupational advisers of Negro youth, whilst encouraging able Negroes to prepare for the professions, yet these advisers must prepare young colored people for the fact that learning skills in the vocational schools does not necessarily mean success, for unions and industrial concerns often shut off the Negroes from the field of skilled trades."

That Negro parents and their children are made aware of the difficulties suggested above is a daily demonstrated fact not merely in Pittsburgh, but all over the State and nation. However, the sympathetic awareness of these problems on the part of advisers and the Junior Employment Office of the Public Schools can be used to good advantage in a program designed to improve the situation.

The serious manpower crisis of the present war emergency, particularly in the skilled categories of workers, has taught the nation a dramatic lesson that bears on the counseling of Negro youth. It is fallacious to presuppose job barriers against Negro youth as a static and unchanging situation.

For an analysis of the problem of counseling Negro youth perhaps one of the best presentations is to be found in a publication of the Welfare Council of New York City, TOWARD JOB ADJUSTMENT⁽¹⁾

The following statement is quoted from this volume:

"We frequently find that guidance counselors in public schools and social agencies render a positive disservice by giving advice to young people which presupposes that their identification with minority groups disqualifies them from entering certain occupations, regardless of their abilities or preferences.

"Such a guidance policy does not necessarily arise out of a conscious prejudice against members of a minority group either on the part of the counselor or on the part of the agency offering guidance service. It may be based upon the 'common sense' policy of a vocational school system. It may seek justification in the counselor's concern for the 'emotional security' of the student. The argument runs as follows: Vocational schools are intended to train students for employment. If a general community prejudice against certain citizens places insuperable barriers against their employment in certain occupations, it is plainly unsound to use public funds for training students in those careers. Such training would reduce the proportion of successful placements achieved by the school, reduce the efficiency of the system, and constitute an unjustifiable waste of the taxpayers' money. From the psychological point of view, arguments may be produced that are equally plausible. The student who is trained for a given vocation, and who finds his admission barred by blind community prejudice, might easily develop attitudes of frustration, with consequent loss of self-confidence and emotional maladjustment. In many large communities these and similar rationalizations produce unsound vocational guidance for minority groups. As a consequence, their youth frequently come to employment services emotionally ill-equipped for and poorly oriented to the occupation they wish to follow.

(1)

Granger, L.B., Sobel, L.H., & Wilkinson, W.H., TOWARD JOB ADJUSTMENT Welfare Council of New York, 1941, PP 56,57.

"The reasoning which has been described above overlooks at several points the basic needs of minority groups. If employment opportunities are scarce in a given occupation, the present tendency is to discourage training for that occupation. But without training the prospective worker is not ready for employment when opportunities do appear. Such a situation completes a vicious circle which experience has shown must be broken at every possible point. There must be insistence upon employment opportunity for minority groups. At the same time, there must be emphasis upon proper guidance and training, so that young people can be ready when opportunity does appear."

From a large number of brief statements reviewing high school experiences, the staff selected these five from students who were graduated from Pittsburgh high schools in 1940. However, at the time they made these statements, October, 1940, they were freshmen in two colleges in the State:

Miss A: Graduated from the Westinghouse High School in February, 1940. She said that the teachers were fair for the most part but that they "naturally liked the white children best". The case of Louis Waller was an example of race prejudice, she thinks. He was an "A" student and was eligible for the scholarship exam, but they wouldn't recommend him.

Miss B: Graduated from Westinghouse High School in February, 1940. She said it is a "Fine school". She belonged to the swimming team, basketball team, mushball team, and the all city chorus. She belonged to the swimming club and swam at the white "Y". They acted as though they wanted her and she got along better with the white children than she did with the colored. Not many other colored students went out for activities but it wasn't because they weren't encouraged - they just didn't seem interested.

Mr. C: Went to Watts St. Grade School, Heron Hill Junior High and Schenley High. Graduated in June, 1940. In Junior High School the teacher told him that there was "no need whatever" for him to take the commercial course, because there was no opportunity for Negroes in Pitts-

burgh in that field and he would have to go south to get a job. In the Schenley High School he took the General course but elected some commercial art.

Mr. D: Went to grade school in Fort Pitt, then moved to North side and went to Cowley school, Latimer Jr. High and Allegheny High School. Says that all activities were open to colored students and the teachers seemed fair. He played football and traveled with the team in Ohio one year. He was art editor of the "Whahoo", the school paper. The guidance supervisor in the senior high school "seemed very nice". She helped students all she could.

Miss E: Went to Gladstone Jr. High, and Taylor Alderdice High School, which is the largest in Pittsburgh. Graduated in June, 1940. There were 437 graduates, and 10 were colored. The school was predominantly Jewish. The students seemed very friendly and the teachers seemed interested. "The only restriction was the A Cappella choir which sang at white churches and at radio stations. So the colored children dropped out of the chorus altogether." Three colored girls, with the help of the teacher, wrote a play for the history class. It was to be broadcast but when the company found out that they were colored the play was called off. Later they gave it in the school auditorium.

On the whole, these five brief statements seem rather characteristic of Pittsburgh high school graduates. Although prejudice is evident, it is also true that Negro students do not take advantage of many of the opportunities offered them. It is interesting to note that a group of Negro students at the University of Pittsburgh made some observations similar to those of respondent number two, Miss B. The problems involved are exceedingly important in that they are so universal through the State and nation. The Education Department of the Pittsburgh Urban League has done an excellent job in this area.

However, the problems involved are such that Negro churches, fraternal organizations, clubs, etc., must support the program of the Urban League in its program. It is not too much to expect that each Negro secondary school pupil should be contacted three or four times each year and encouraged to take full advantage of all opportunities offered. The nature of this work in Pennsylvania and in fact, all non-southern states is of sufficient importance to demand a special organization which will devote its time to this problem alone.

On November 25, 1942, the following official information was sent to the Commission in response to the question: "What are the positions held by Negro teachers?"

- I. Negroes placed in regular, permanent teaching positions:

Elementary Schools	2
High Schools	1
Compulsory Attendance Department	1
Total	4

- II. Negroes serving as substitute teachers on the Approved Substitute List:

Elementary Schools	3	(2 serving in
High Schools	1	vacancies)
Clerkships	1	
Total	5	

- III. Evening School Teachers: 26

- IV. Requirements for above positions are as follows:

1. Regular teaching positions:
 - a. Baccalaureate degree
 - b. Proper Pennsylvania certification
 - c. For High Schools--three years' previous teaching experience
 - d. Obtaining a satisfactory grade in an eligibility examination

2. Evening School and Substitute positions:
 - a. Proper certification to teach subject applied for
3. Clerkship
 - a. High school graduation
 - b. Obtaining a satisfactory grade in an eligibility examination

Obviously, these positions are hardly enough to be called "token" appointments and can be regarded only as a very small beginning. As the system expands and as white teachers resign or retire, competent Negro teachers should be appointed immediately until the number of Negro teachers becomes somewhat proportionate to the Negro's ratio in the total school enrollment or at least in proportion to his ratio in the general population. Certainly there ought to be enough fair minded leading white people in Pittsburgh to help improve the situation.

Interestingly enough, the dominant group of Negro leaders in Pittsburgh have keenly felt this discrimination in the city's public school system. However, each time they were offered all-Negro schools, they have refused them. To them, all-Negro schools are not an alternative to restrictions and exclusions. They believe that it will mean more to all of the citizens of Pittsburgh to have both Negro pupils and teachers integrated into the public schools (on the basis of citizenship) rather than to establish separate schools on the basis of race.

In the meantime, aside from the millions of dollars lost to the Negro population, Negro pupils are suffering from the lack of inspiration which a representative number of Negro teachers would give them. Because of this dearth of Negro

teachers, the educational processes of white pupils suffer in that they are unable to learn practical lessons in democracy; the entire city suffers from the leadership which a representative number of Negro teachers would give. Above all, democracy suffers.

XXIII

Tables XXII and indicate how rapidly the Negro school population of Philadelphia has increased. In 1920, Negroes were 7.4% of the total population; in that year Negro children were 7.7% of the total school population of the city. However, in 1930, Negroes were 11.4% of the city's total population but were 15.4% of the school population. In 1940, the Negroes were 13.% of the general population but constituted 20.5% of the city's school population.

TABLE XXII

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT 1919-1940 ENROLLMENT AND NUMBER OF
NEGRO CHILDREN IN PHILADELPHIA SCHOOLS

Year	Grades 1 - 8			Kindergarten			Special Classes		
	Enroll- ment*	Negro	%	Enroll- ment	Negro	%	Enroll- ment	Negro	%
1919	186830	14133	7.6	8525	549	6.4	2868	749	26.1
1920	137290	14369	7.7	8174	520	6.4	3035	787	25.9
1921	191502	16305	8.5	8147	560	6.9	3823	1043	27.3
1922	194636	17016	8.7	8983	645	7.2	4127	1031	25.0
1923	192487	18754	9.7	8861	781	8.8	5176	1456	28.1
1924	139069	20076	10.6	8937	1019	11.4	5749	1957	34.0
1925	134020	21270	11.6	9445	995	10.5	6531	2071	31.7
1926	132241	21770	11.9	9350	1056	12.4	7666	2263	29.5
1927	177649	23161	13.0	9579	1068	11.1	8376	2740	32.7
1928	170344	23226	13.6	9568	947	9.9	9549	3067	32.1
1929	166486	23892	14.4	9857	1094	11.1	9817	3266	33.3
1930	166313	25568	15.4	10018	1156	11.5	10371	3454	33.3
1931	162032	25933	16.0	9795	1179	12.0	10514	3328	31.7
1932	158643	26375	16.6	9956	1370	13.8	10665	3666	34.4
1933	154499	27116	17.6	10148	1669	16.4	10614	3768	35.5
1934	154278	27766	18.0	9748	1471	15.1	10961	4071	37.1
1935	150048	28912	19.3	9975	1485	14.9	10984	4270	38.9
1936	145422	29371	20.2	9899	1498	15.1	10678	4027	37.7
1937	139676	30258	21.7	9653	1532	15.9	10225	4077	39.9
1938	138059	29646	21.5	9954	1578	15.9	10356	4265	41.2
1939	134738	29046	21.6	9906	1583	16.0	10461	4508	43.1
1940	131993	30126	22.8	9904	1518	15.3	9800	4388	44.8

* For year ended June 30th

As Exhibit Number 11 points out, during the past decade there was a decrease of 18% in the white population between the ages of seven and fifteen while the number of Negro children of that age group increased 38%. Hence, the city was losing over 5,000 white children annually in this age group and gaining 1,000 Negro children. "Whereas in 1920, one child in 15 was a Negro, today one child in 6 is a Negro." In summary, as of June, 1940, there were 244,346 pupils in the public schools of Philadelphia; of this number, 50,112 or 20.5% were Negroes. In 1940, Negroes were 13% of the total population. Hence, the Negro school attendance population was 1.5 times the Negro's proportion in the general population. In general, the situation is due to the fact that a large number of whites moved to the suburbs while Negroes remained within the city limits. Likewise, a number of Negroes who live in the suburbs send their children to the City. Moreover, in Philadelphia there has been a slight increase due to migration.

From Table XXII it is observed that 44.8% of all the children in special classes are Negroes. In 1941, 54.6% of the total enrollment in special schools were Negroes. Mal-adjustment is thereby indicated.

It is also interesting to note that 20.8% of the students in Junior High Schools were Negroes. However, as Table XXIII indicates, only 10.6% of the Senior High School population was Negro. It will be noted that at no time between 1919 and 1940 did the Negro high school enrollment compare favorably with either percentage of Negro pupils in the public schools or

with the Negro's proportion in the general population. The reasons therefor are numerous, but the major ones center around the socio-economic status of the Negro population.

TABLE XXIII

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT 1919-1940 ENROLLMENT AND NUMBER OF NEGRO CHILDREN IN PHILADELPHIA SCHOOLS: Jr. Sr. High

	Junior High			Senior High		
	Enroll- ment	Negro	%	Enroll- ment	Negro	%
1919	1606	39	2.4	20390	545	2.7
1920	1625	52	3.2	22171	657	3.0
1921	4960	85	1.7	26233	650	2.5
1922	7200	215	3.0	29918	952	3.2
1923	7839	281	3.6	30807	1040	3.4
1924	16059	374	2.3	30465	1276	4.2
1925	21215	837	3.9	30131	1297	4.3
1926	21418	1021	4.8	30458	1383	4.5
1927	27171	1161	4.3	30960	1547	5.0
1928	35542	1925	5.4	31622	1692	5.4
1929	37608	2300	6.1	32223	1718	5.3
1930	37809	2422	6.4	34929	2006	5.7
1931	41357	2576	6.2	38432	2449	6.4
1932	42492	3860	9.1	42330	2634	6.2
1933	44054	4286	9.7	46456	3187	6.9
1934	42831	4782	11.2	48352	3411	7.1
1935	42979	4387	11.4	50491	4009	7.9
1936	43173	5052	11.7	51758	4436	8.6
1937	45123	5310	11.8	51872	4798	9.2
1938	45534	7126	15.6	49711	4851	9.8
1939	45149	8623	19.1	42025	4374	9.4
1940	41377	8625	20.8	51272	5455	10.6

In 1941, there were forty-five elementary schools in Philadelphia in which 40% or more of the pupils were Negroes. Included in these forty-five elementary schools were twelve all-Negro schools with Negro principals, teachers, and students. There were also seven junior high schools and two senior high schools having 40% or more Negro pupils. However, of the 6,169 vocational school pupils only 647 or 10.5% of them were Negroes.

Moreover, dressmaking, home economics, and beauty culture and related courses contained more than two-thirds of the total enrollment of Negro vocational pupils. Auto mechanics was the most popular subject among the Negro boys. However, be the lack of distribution as it may, in view of the economic status of the Negro, one might expect a much higher percentage of Negro pupils in vocational subjects. Aside from the fact that many Negro parents and white parents of a similar economic status, do not desire their children to take vocational subjects, there are two major reasons for this situation as it disproportionately affects Negroes. These reasons are centered around the restrictive and exclusion policies ^{which} some employers and some labor unions and non-unionized white employees practice. The two types of elements have operated with sufficient severity to discourage thousands of Negro pupils from entering vocational schools. This conclusion is supported by Negro leaders all over the State, Negro youth themselves, the findings of the Commission, and also a recent study by the Board itself. (1)

In recognition of these and related difficulties, the Board's study contains the following valuable recommendations:

"1. That interested organizations and agencies, especially those affiliated with schools and government, make continuous contacts with industry for the purpose of investigating occupational trends and employment opportunities for Negro youths.

(1)

"Industrial Opportunities for Negro Youth in the Manufacturing Industries of Philadelphia", Oct. 1939, PP 7-9, 17-18.

"2. That Negro youths be encouraged to make application for apprenticeship at the various employer and labor organizations in the city.

"3. That employers be urged to give thought to the considerable waste of valuable talent that arises from indiscriminate assignment of most Negroes to the unskilled and semi-skilled processes.

"4. That the procedure be improved by which the Negro youths who give promise of being successful in the skilled trades are aided by the schools in finding employment.

"5. That Negro youths be encouraged to prepare for any industrial fields for which their talents fit them, even though present industrial conditions seem to restrict employment in certain fields to white persons.

"6. That those Negroes who hold jobs at present with firms which employ persons of other races, be encouraged to do their part in developing a spirit of mutual understanding and respect." (1)

The Board took a second step in appointing a special staff to study the employment difficulties of Negro youth with a view toward placement. The Board deserves credit for its interests and efforts in this regard.

In March, 1942, the Commission sent a series of questions to the Secretary of the Board of Education. Among the questions asked the Board by the Commission were:

"As of June, 1941, how many white and Negro persons, respectively, were on instructional, administrative staff of the Board of Education with offices located in the main building at Twenty-first and Parkway? If it is convenient, kindly give the title and rank of each Negro on the Administrative Staff.

(1)

IBIC PP 20-21

"As of June, 1941, how many white and Negro persons, respectively, were on the non-instructional administrative staff of the Board of Education with offices located in the main building at Twenty-first and Parkway? If it is convenient, kindly give the title and rank of each Negro on the non-instructional staff.

"As of June, 1941, how many Negro and white elementary school supervisors respectively, were there in the system?

"To what schools were the Negro supervisors assigned?

"As of June, 1941, how many Negro and white supervisors were there in the Junior High Schools of the city?

"As of June, 1941, how many Negro and white senior high school supervisors were there?

"How is guidance administered - by special teachers, or by all of the regular classroom teachers of a given school?

"As of June, 1935, and June, 1941, respectively, how many Negro and white teachers, respectively were assigned to guidance programs? By what method were guidance teachers appointed: (a) examinations, credits, etc.?

"Is there a list of guidance teachers?

"How many white and Negro teachers, respectively are there on the list of guidance teachers?

"What policy governs the assignment of home and school visitors to a given school?

"(a) As of 1935 and 1941, what were the number of white and Negro home and school visitors respectively?

"(b) What are the special problems of Negro and white pupils respectively, which gave rise to the need of these teachers?"

As yet, no replies to these questions have been made.

In the absence of official answers, the truth can be only approximated. From interviews with Negro and white teachers

and principals, the Commission is led to believe that there is no Negro holding a high position either instructional or non-instructional with an office in the main building at Twenty-first and Parkway. There is one Negro supervisor on the elementary level but there are no Negro ^{high} junior/supervisors nor are there any ^{senior} high school supervisors. During the present school year one Negro has been assigned to the curriculum staff.

Although as of June, 1941, there were forty-five elementary schools in the city having 40% or more Negro pupils, there were only twelve Negro elementary principals. Since there were a number of qualified Negroes available, as white elementary principals retired, Negro principals should have been appointed in numbers which were more commensurate with their competence and the total Negro elementary school population. Both the Negro and white population need this proportionate increase of Negro elementary school principals. It will be good for the administration, the pupils, and the city.

In addition to the excellent school records of Negro elementary school principals, their records of community service have been exceptionally outstanding. Inasmuch as there are seven Junior High Schools in the city having 40% or more Negro pupils and since there are no Negro principals of junior high schools in the city, the Commission suggests that, in view of the excellent standing of Negro elementary school principals, most of these schoolmen be advanced as rapidly as possible to junior high school principalships. A few such appointments should be made at the end of the current

school year. Moreover, since there are at least two senior high schools having 40% or more students who are Negroes, consistent effort should be made on the part of the Administration to appoint a Negro as principal of a senior high school. Such appointments would do more toward teaching democracy than a million text-book lessons on democracy.

In June, 1941, there were 7,585 teachers in the public schools of Philadelphia; of this number, only 307 or 4.15% were Negroes. In proportion to the Negro's part in the total population, there should have been 960 Negro teachers. However, if the number of Negro teachers had been proportional to the number of Negro pupils in the school system, there would be more than 1,500 Negro teachers.

As of 1941, of the 1,344 junior high school teachers, only one was a Negro. In addition thereto, of the 1,440 senior high school teachers there was not one Negro. In spite of the fact that during the current school year there are five or six Negro teachers added to the total number of junior and senior high schools teachers, the 1941 picture is still fundamentally unchanged.

The schools do not exist for teachers, administrators, and boards of education; they exist for the pupils. They, in turn, are the leaders of tomorrow. A reasonable number of competent Negro teachers and principals in the junior and senior high schools will do much toward solving many of the difficulties of both racial groups. It is the best lesson in democracy that the school system can give. Moreover, it is the only fair and just approach to the problem.

Some people may feel that such teacher placement criteria as (1) native ability, (2) special aptitude, (3) academic training: in terms of credits, degrees, and the degree of excellence pertaining thereto, (4) standing or ratings as a result of examinations conducted by the Board: objective type, essay type, oral, or a combination thereof, (5) teaching experience and its degree of excellence, (6) personality, (7) productive scholarship, (8) professional standing in one's field, etc., are responsible for the fact that although Negro pupils are one-fifth of the total school population, Negro teachers are only one-twenty-fifth of the total teaching personnel in the city. Among the questions submitted to the Board by the Commission were:

"What criteria, such as examinations, teacher ratings, academic courses and degrees, productive scholarship, etc., determine the standing of a person on the list?

"Are the examinations of the essay or of the objective type?

"How long have objective tests been used?

"Who grades the examinations?

"Is there an oral part in the examination?

"May we have copies of the oral questions for the past five years in any regular academic subject?

"Does personality play a part in teacher selection?

"How many Negroes have assisted in:

- (a) determining the criteria for teacher selection,
- (b) framing the examination questions,
- (c) grading examinations, and
- (d) assigning personality ratings?"

To date these questions have not been answered. Certainly, such teacher placement criteria and factors pertaining thereto have values. However, it must be remembered that many criteria as well as the values assigned to each criteria are rather subjective. Moreover, the fact that it has been difficult almost to the point of impossibility for qualified Negroes to be advanced in the system has discouraged many Negroes from doing graduate work or otherwise preparing for the achievement aspect of the teacher placement criteria. Admitting that one must first do all that is within his or her power to be prepared, practically, we know that there are only a relatively few teachers of any race in the nation who are going to continue to exert themselves to the utmost irrespective of the probability of being promoted. In other words, Negro teachers are aware of the fact that insomuch as only an insignificant number of competent Negroes have been promoted, there is the maximum likelihood that their preparedness will also result in no favorable change of status. However, as is inferred, there are many Negro teachers who have done all within their power to be prepared. Anyone desiring so to do may search the records on this point.

In all systems, there are promotional examinations or there are positions to be filled in which experience within the system itself is a very valuable criteria. Given the present status of Negro teachers in Philadelphia, it is rather obvious that in all fairness to the present administration, there may be positions for which Negro teachers are not eligible

by reason of their lack of experience. However, much we may regret this fact, there is still the opportunity to promote Negroes wherever their experience will permit in all branches of the system. Your Commission submits that such a procedure is only fair and just. On such a basis, scores of Negro teachers could be promoted and hundreds of new ones could be appointed within a short space of years without in any way being unfair to teachers of other racial groups. This latter statement assumes, of course, that irrespective of the criteria for teacher selection and however rigid these criteria may be, when evaluated fairly, Negroes can be found, many of them within the city or natives thereof, who can qualify in sufficient numbers to bring the Negro quota up to where it naturally belongs.

With reference to school policy, the following were among the questions which the Executive Director asked the Board:

"Has the Board of Education any attitude or policy with regard to the mixing or separation of white and Negro children on the elementary level?

"Has the trend in elementary education been toward mixing or separation of the races?

(a) With regard to teachers?

(b) With regard to pupils?

"Has the Board of Education on record, any instances of real or alleged discrimination on account of race in which its own position has been clearly stated?

"What philosophy or circumstances account for the separate grouping of teachers?

"What possible advantages do you feel are inherent in the separate Negro elementary schools?

"What are the possible disadvantages of the separate Negro schools?"

"Which of the factors listed below have had some influence on the development of the all-Negro elementary school?"

- (a) The concentration of the Negro population,
- (b) The request of Negro citizens for separate schools as an opportunity for the employment of Negro teachers,
- (c) The policy of school authorities of separating the races where possible (probably at the insistence of white parents),
- (d) The feeling that Negroes would make better progress or enjoy other advantages in schools of their own,
- (e) The feeling that Negro pupils and their parents would prefer having separate schools to avoid the hostile attitude of whites,
- (f) The feeling that Negro children can best be served in terms of their special problems by instructors of their own,
- (g) The transfer of white children (individually) to other schools at the request of their parents (How many children were so transferred in the past school year?)
- (h) The failure of Negro pupils to keep up with standards set in mixed schools,
- (i) Other reasons (please enumerate).

The Executive Director, naturally, realized the difficulty of answering some of the above questions in view of their subjective nature; (1) the nature of the Board's official records, (2) the fact that policies are often not written and that one's memory does not often recall such ideas sufficiently accurate to justify a written statement thereon, and (3) that the chief instructional administrator has not been in the employment of the Board long enough to pass judgment on many of these questions. To these, we may add other considerations; nevertheless, an

official statement on these questions would have been very helpful to the Commission, the Honorable Bodies and His Excellency and through them, to the citizens of the Commonwealth.

It is observed that there were eight "Negro teachers not in all-colored schools" in Philadelphia. During the present school year several white teachers were assigned to some of the schools which were formerly all-Negro schools.

Given the number of Negro pupils in the system, the total number of Negro teachers, and given the fact that all of the Negro teachers except eight were employed in all-Negro elementary schools, it follows that during the past decade, as the white child population decreased, there was the constant necessity of shifting Negro pupils to schools in which there were white teachers. The fact is that retirements and resignations of white teachers were far below the rapid decrease in the white school population; hence, holding constant the Negro teaching personnel and accounting for their relative decline, as the years passed, white teachers had an increasing number of Negro pupils. On the other hand, Negro teachers taught practically no white pupils. With all due recognition of the administrative problems involved, the City of Brotherly Love must regret such happenings. Your Commission believes that these facts are realized by the Board of Education and that some efforts are being made to improve the situation.

In the matter of the establishment of separate schools, a board of education or a superintendent has many complex

problems with which to deal. The questions above suggested as much. As the questions may imply, the Negro leadership is divided on some of the main questions. This division both perplexes official white opinion and affords it an opportunity to find a certain type of Negro leadership to support its own attitudes, determinations, and actions. This is human, but perhaps it is all too human. No Negro leaders believe that separate schools are ideal but some of them prefer to have separate school if Negro teachers, supervisors, and principals are otherwise to be excluded from the system. On the contrary, there are some Negro leaders who believe that it is better not to have these separate schools and who believe in using all of the forces of democracy in having Negro teachers and pupils integrated into the public school system as are citizens of other races. Moreover, all Negroes feel that given the number and distribution of Negro teachers, principals, etc., in accordance with merit and somewhat in proportion to their part in the total population or the percentage of the Negro pupil population, full integration of pupils and personnel is the only just solution to the problem. In the meantime, is there a middle course or should a middle course be sought? In terms of the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and democracy, the answer is very evident.

35. SOME BASIC FACTORS UNDERLYING THE STATUS OF NEGRO PUPILS

It may be helpful to present some of the factors which are responsible for the present status of Negro pupils in the State. To begin with, even in those communities where there are a considerable number of Negroes, the Negro population with one or two exceptions, is not represented in the control and administration of the public schools of the State. Moreover, for practical purposes, except in all-Negro schools or the equivalent thereof, the teaching personnel is generally white. Even at this writing there are less than twenty Negro teachers in mixed junior and senior high schools in the State. These factors tend to negate the ambitions and aspirations of Negro pupils; because of these factors, and the discriminatory policies and practices which maintain them, admitting exceptions, there is a general lack of understanding of the problems of Negro pupils especially in the junior and senior high schools.

Some forty or more Negro leaders throughout the State were asked if counsellors in the public schools understood the problems confronting Negro leaders. Twenty-five Negroes from twenty-two different communities responded. No one of them replied "Yes" unqualifiedly; ten of them thought that the counsellors had a limited knowledge of the problems, but fifteen replied "No" unqualifiedly. A president of a Negro college in the State replied: "Some, but not very many". A Negro social worker of Lancaster replied: "No. Either because counsellors have had no opportunity to study the particular problems confronting Negro youth or because they are not aware

of them they cannot understand the peculiar problems that Negroes alone face".

A former school principal at Merton stated: "I don't think the counsellors in my community thoroughly understand the Negro problems". A publisher of a Philadelphia Negro weekly stated: "In my opinion, no; they try to stick all Negroes in the same hole". A Negro woman who is principal of a private school in Philadelphia replied: "The number is too small, and only negligible so far as qualified counsellors are concerned. There is an immediate demand for more and better trained workers in this field. Woeful lack of sympathy toward placements of Negro youths, the trend being to advise something in the menial fields". A Negro social worker of Harrisburg stated: "It is very difficult for anyone, other than a Negro, to understand the problems confronting Negro youth. Not having Negro counsellors, of course there is some handicap there". One principal of a Negro school in Philadelphia replied: "Not in sufficient numbers." Another Philadelphia Negro principal responded: "A very small number." A third Negro principal responded: "I am not quite sure that the white counsellors do know how to advise."

Teachers, supervisors, principals, superintendents, and school board officials should profit by the above statements. Moreover, these views of Negro leaders are supported by numerous interviews with Negro pupils and their parents. On the other hand, there are often serious problems which may affect a given school in such a manner that it cannot function properly without persons who sympathetically understand major Negro problems.

Unfortunately, this lack of understanding of the major problems of Negro youth by counsellors is shared by superintendents,, principals, and teachers. Often it is accompanied by discriminatory policies and practices which always embitter Negro pupils. The staff interviewed two hundred freshmen from State Teachers College at Cheyney and Lincoln University. To this number was added three hundred brief case studies and interviews with pupils in secondary schools including thirty students from the Downingtown Industrial School. In each case, students were asked to discuss rather briefly, the most important aspects of their school experiences. There were numerous instances in which these Negro pupils praised the teachers of their schools as a group and as individuals. In some instances, students said that their white teachers made special efforts to help them. These students did not fail to express their appreciation for these services. On the other hand, there were numerous instances of prejudice. However, none of these cases were such that adjustments could not have been made.

Often, it is rather difficult to determine and evaluate properly the facts regarding teacher-pupil relationships. However, ~~there~~ is hardly any excuse for school boards, superintendents, and principals permitting public schools to make use of facilities and services in places where Negroes are restricted or excluded. The most frequent instances of this type of arrangement seems to exist where high school swimming classes and contests are held at YMCA's and YWCA's. While there are exceptions, Negro students complain that they are

not permitted, in most instances, to use these facilities. Here and there a high school gives a dance at a club which excludes Negroes; often, a high school choral or orchestral group accepts an engagement at a place which will not permit Negro participants. There are also instances in which civic organizations give banquets in honor of a winning team but exclude its Negro members. Fortunately, none of these restrictions and exclusions are universal. There are many high schools which are not guilty of any of these practices. Unfortunately, many of them are. Tax-free and tax-supported institutions cannot afford to be participants in any such undemocratic policies and practices. Obviously, the answer is not to be found, as many principals and superintendents seem to think, by omitting many such activities from the school's program.

Next, the curriculum and its instrumentations are not adjusted to meet the interests, needs, and appreciations of a very large number of pupils. Educators estimate that between a fifth and a third of the junior and senior high school students are, for numerous reasons, ill-adjusted. This is true of a disproportionately large number of Negro pupils. Aside from the difficulties arising from limitations, discrimination, and prescriptions peculiar to Negroes, perhaps a part of the difficulty with all children is due to the fact that too much emphasis has been placed upon how to earn a living and preparation therefor to the detriment of learning how to live. Obviously, in addition to a broader and more wholesome con-

ception of education for vocational purposes, such subjects as consumer education, the elements of public welfare and social security, education for leisure time, world relations, and intercultural education must play a larger part in the post war curriculum. The post-war curriculum must aim at the education of "the whole man". The emotions, desires, attitudes, interests, and tastes must be educated as well as the body and mind.

Likewise, the school must conceive of its duty to offer its program to persons of all ages. In addition to the regular adult education as it is now conceived, folk-education must assume a very important part of the adult curriculum. If the school fails to respond to its major responsibilities other institutions will be established to meet the needs but such movements will greatly weaken the effectiveness of the school as a community force.

Admitting that the various school curricula need revision, so far as Negro pupils are concerned, the most serious difficulties do not pertain to the curriculum changes but with the end results of the offerings. For example, as has been pointed out, in depression and normal times, even if native ability, aptitude, and interests dictate vocational training, employment difficulties almost thwart the incentive to pursue these courses. Negro students of exceptional ability and industry in the academic fields experience the same difficulty in obtaining employment commensurate with their competence and interests. In spite of discriminatory policies and practices

which are too often evident, the inability of Negro pupils to obtain responsible and satisfying employment commensurate with their training and ambitions, contribute more than anything else to the factors underlying the problems of Negro pupils.

In a letter dated October 14, 1941, Mr. Add B. Anderson, Secretary and Business Manager of the Philadelphia Board of Public Education, supplied the Commission with a list of thirty-five textbooks which were used in the schools. The Commission suggested that it be given a list of the texts most frequently and widely used in the system. Mr. Anderson did not state in his letter the manner in which the list he gave was constructed. However, it is assumed that some effort was made to comply with the request. The list which was furnished and upon which this treatment is based is as follows:

Senior High: Forman: Advanced American History (Rev. 1934 ed)

Gavian-Gray-Groves: Our Changing Social
Order (Rev. ed)

Greenan-Meredith: Everyday Problems in
American Democracy

Guitteau: History of the United States (1937 ed)

Hamn: The American People (1938 ed)

McKinley-Howland-Dann: World History in the
Making (1934 ed)

Muzzey: A History of Our Country (1938 ed)

Patterson-Little-Burch: Problems in
American Democracy (1940)

Perrot: Man's Work and World (1935)

Towne: Social Problems (Third ed)

Junior High: Becker: Modern History (1941)

Blough-McClure: Fundamentals in
Citizenship (1939)

Coyle-Evans: From Wilderness to Nation (1934)
From Subject to Citizen (1936)

Hayes-Moyn-Wayland: World History, Part 2

Hughes: Good Citizenship with Penna Supp. (1941 ed)
Industrial Geography (1932 ed)

McKinley-Howland-Dann: World History Today (1940 ed)

West-West: The Story of our Country (1940 ed)

Elementary:

- Civics Borman-Fryer-Barnard: Community Interests
 Stack: Safety Everyday (1939 ed)
 Sewell: Makers of America
- Geography Abrams Thurston: World Geography (1940 ed)
 Atwood-Thomas: The Americans (1938)
 Nations Beyond the Seas (1939 ed)
 Branon-Ganey: Eastern Hemisphere (1940 ed)
 Western Hemisphere (1940 ed)
 Lefferts: Our City and Our State (Rev.)
 Pierco: First Adventures in Geography (1939 ed)
 Allen: North America (Rev. 1940 ed)
- History Gerdy: American Beginnings in Europe (New ed)
 Groetzinger: Heroes in National History (Rev)
 Lefferts: Our Country's Leaders (Phila. ed.)
 Rowland: Heroes in Early American History
 (Simplified ed)

The list consists of ten Senior High School textbooks, ten Junior High School texts, and fifteen Elementary School texts, the latter divided under the headings: Civics, Geography, and History. The staff was able to examine all but two of these texts at the Pedagogical Library.⁽¹⁾ Except in four instances, all books on this list were published since 1931;⁽²⁾ this being so, the findings of the staff may be compared with those of Dr. Carpenter for texts which she considers nationally representative for the period 1931-1939.⁽³⁾ Howbeit, only two⁽⁴⁾ of the texts on our list are among those examined by Dr. Carpenter.

(1) 2 omitted: Muzzey's A HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY for Sr. Highs & Allen's NORTH AMERICA, an Elementary Geography.

(2) Sewell's ELEMENTARY CIVICS text - 1930 edition; Groetzinger's and Lefferts' Elementary History texts (2) - 1929 editions; and Gerdy's text - 1925 edition.

(3) Carpenter, Marie Elizabeth - "The Treatment of the Negro in American History School Textbooks (A Comparison of Changing Textbook Content 1826-1939, with Developing Scholarship in the History of the Negro in the United States)" George Banta Publishing Company, Menasha, Wis. 1941.

(4) Hamer, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, and West and West, THE STORY OF OUR COUNTRY.

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL TEXTS

Of the nine Senior High School texts examined, seven have the word Negro indexed, and two do not. The two which do not, ⁽¹⁾ index their references to the Negro under the word Slavery. Several of the texts which index the word Negro, also index Slavery and Slave Trade, and in some instances give their more extensive references under the latter. Although slavery is an historical fact and must be treated in any attempt to portray world or American history, it is not particularly helpful to the present younger generation of Negroes to find the only index reference to the Negro under Slavery as is too often the case. Three of these texts use a small "n" in spelling Negro; ⁽²⁾ six capitalize it.

Six of these texts have one or more pictures of Negroes who are clearly labeled or identifiable as such, while three have no pictures of Negroes. Patterson, Little, and Burch in PROBLEMS IN AMERICAN LIVING, include one Negro picture which depicts an African sultan with six wives. ⁽³⁾ One may wonder how this picture found its way into the text. It is used in discussion found in the early part of the text on the influence of Geography upon social institutions and this particular picture is, apparently, supposed to add to the student's understanding of the institution of polygamy as compared with the

(1) Gutteau and McKinley, Howland and Dann.

(2) Gutteau, Forman, and McKinley, Howland and Dann

(3) Patterson, Little, and Burch, PROBLEMS IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, Mcmillan Co., New York, 1940, P. 30.

American form of family life. The text explains that the institution of slavery like that of polygamy flourishes in the same type of region, a warm rich agricultural one which induces a dislike of strenuous labor and leads to the enslavement of the group most powerless to resist.

McKinley, Howland, and Dann have two pictures of slaves in the ancient world. One text contains only a picture of Negroes working in a cotton field. Another contains only a picture of a Negro plantation minister preaching to slaves. Hamm's text contains three pictures depicting conditions during slavery, and one showing Negroes in a bread line after emancipation. This text also has two graphs or charts, one showing the extension of the suffrage, and one showing the relative price of slaves and cotton, 1795-1860.

Most of these texts make no attempt to trace the life of the Negro beyond Reconstruction and most of them do not mention any particular Negro by name. However, this is characteristic of the vast majority of textbooks examined by the staff. Other studies of textbooks all over the nation show almost identical results. Greenan and Meredith attempt to treat the problem in recent times by grouping the northern migration of Negroes with the Philippine migration on the Pacific coast and the Mexican migration in the southwest. All three groups are regarded primarily as labor problems. "All these problems create great strains and require tact and forbearance on all sides for their proper solution", say these authors.⁽¹⁾

(1)

Greenan, J.T., & Meredith, A.B., EVERYDAY PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, Houghton Mifflin Co., New York, 1940, P. 283

Gavin, Gray, and Groves point out that: "Even in the North there are few modern hospitals where a Negro physician is permitted to treat his own patients; this will be remedied as more hospitals for Negroes are built, and as public hospitals where both races are treated adjust their programs to allow Negro doctors to treat Negro patients".⁽¹⁾ Towne discusses the percentage of Negroes in the population between 1790 and 1930 and their distribution. He also mentions high Negro mortality rates and the need for the improvement of Negro housing. "The proportion of illiteracy in the North and West is approximately the same, but it is more than three times as great in the South, due, of course, to the large proportion of Negroes there", says Towne.⁽²⁾ Guitteau comments briefly on the founding of Tuskegee by Booker T. Washington. Frederick Douglass is mentioned in connection with abolitionists who were mobbed but is not identified as a Negro. Nat Turner is also mentioned by this author. Hamm devotes several paragraphs to a discussion of the political, social, and economic life of the Negro. "The Negro is justly proud of the achievements of many members of his race - poets, dramatists, musicians, and actors - who have succeeded in obtaining a wide following even among whites", writes Hamm.⁽³⁾ This author also states that the liberal immigration policy formerly held toward the yellow

(1) Gavin, R.W., Gray, A.A., & Groves, E.R., OUR CHANGING SOCIAL ORDER, D.C. Heath Co., New York, 1939, P. 342

(2) Towne, E.T., SOCIAL PROBLEMS, Macmillan Co., N.Y., 1931, P. 40

(3) Hamm, W.A., THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, D.C. Heath Co., N.Y. 1938, P. 581

race - "was tending to cause the same trouble on the Pacific coast that the presence of the black race has caused in other sections." (1)

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

The ten Junior High School texts in social science deal with a wide variety of subjects, as is indicated by their titles. Four⁽²⁾ of these texts index the word Negro and six do not. Three of the texts in which the word Negro is not indexed do, however, index Slavery and give their references to the Negro under that heading. Hughes has three texts on the list and it is interesting to note that he alone of these authors indexes neither the word Negro nor the word Slavery. Moreover, his content shows a corresponding dearth of material on the Negro.

With reference to capitalization, it is noted that four of these Junior High School texts capitalize the word Negro, McKinley, Howland and Dann spell it with a capital "N" in one place and a small "n" in another,⁽³⁾ while the remaining five texts seem not to use the word at all; they substitute Slavery or "the African race". Six of these texts have illustrations of or including the Negro, while four do not. The three world history texts have a number of illustrations of the Negro, all of which, however, are drawn from Africa. West and West have three pictures, two of conditions under slavery, and one of Booker T. Washington.

(1) Ibid, P. 585

(2) Coyle and Evans, Hayes, Moon and Wayland, McKinley Howland and Dann, and West and West.

(3) Small "n", P. 674; capital "N", P. 570

Coyle and Evans in FROM WILDERNESS TO NATION have only one picture which is that of a Negro child picking cotton. In their text FROM SUBJECT TO CITIZEN these authors have four pictures of the Negro, two of which are of classes at Tuskegee. Of the pictures of the Negro, the authors say that as far as they go, they are representative and do the Negro no injustice. These authors show an appreciation of the significance of the Negro in American life and a fair attitude toward him. In "From Wilderness to Nation" the treatment is rather cursory; in "From Subject to Citizen" it is somewhat fuller. The latter text contains one paragraph on "The Negro Today", which seems too brief, although it mentions that many Negroes have acquired property and education and have won recognition in many fields. West and West, in common with most of their texts, devote most of their discussion to the Negro of ante-bellum times, but do point out in a final section that "The problems of the Negro in the United States - his education, his rights, his relation to white men are still unsolved". Only the first steps have been taken. The Negroes of the new generation are self-supporting; thousands of them have their own farms, many of them are in professions, as lawyers, doctors, editors, ministers, etc. Negro leaders have risen like the late Booker T. Washington and his successor Robert Moton who have spent their lives in helping the people of their race to find themselves. (1)

(1) Coyle, L.S., and Evans, W.P., FROM SUBJECT TO CITIZEN, P.184.

McKinley, Howland, and Dann discuss the Negro in only two connections. They relate the fact of the kidnapping of Negroes in Africa and the attack made upon this "iniquitous traffic in souls" by reformers who prepared the way for the complete overthrow of the slave system in practically all countries of the world by the end of the nineteenth century. The other reference has to do with Latin America, where they point out that even in colonial times the Negro was a part of the population there.

Hayes, Moon, and Wayland point out that the forcible transplantation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes from Africa to America in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries has "an unfortunate and abiding effect" in the race problems of the present day in America, though in the course of time their descendants were "freed, civilized, and Christianized".⁽¹⁾ Concerning Negroes and the Civil War these authors have only to say that the freeing of the slaves broke up the plantations and brought about conditions that invited manufacturing.

It may be pointed out that as the authors of a world history, they have a very limited concept of the term civilization, for they say that until the close of the nineteenth century the light of civilization had not reached the inhabitants of Africa. The only exceptions, according to these authors, was Egypt and other regions in the north of Africa.⁽²⁾

(1) Hayes, C. J. W., Moon, P. T. and Wayland, J. W., WORLD HISTORY, Part 11, P. 436

(2) Op. Cit. P. 748

Becker gives his discussion of the Negro in a chapter entitled: "How the Industrial Revolution Led to a Scramble for the Control of Backward Countries", Africa being the continent so described in this case.

Blough and McClure have no index reference to the Negro, they say about slavery only that the thirteenth amendment prohibits the existence of slavery within the United States. In their discussion of the "melting pot" they say nothing whatever about the Negro except in the statement that "the alien of white or African race may file his intention of naturalization as soon after his arrival as he wishes." R. O. Hughes excludes the Negro completely from any discussion in his text on citizenship. T. H. Hughes, in his INDUSTRIAL GEOGRAPHY, has, as far as could be determined, only one statement concerning the Negro: namely, that in the South "most of the cotton is still hand-picked by negro men, women and children." (1)

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEXTS

For the Elementary School our list contains fifteen texts, three of them being Civics texts, eight of them Geographies, and four of them Histories. Except for the Geographies, the books on this list do not have indices. Of those, only one, Abran and Thurston's WORLD GEOGRAPHY, has the word Negro indexed. Five of these texts capitalize the word Negro, and

(1) Hughes, T. H., COMPLETE INDUSTRIAL GEOGRAPHY, 1932, p. 91

three do not. Lefferts, in OUR CITY AND OUR STATE capitalize the word "Negro" in his one brief reference to him; however, in his OUR COUNTRY'S LEADERS, he does not. Sewell and Grootzinger in their respective texts do not capitalize the "n" in Negro. In the remaining six texts the Negro is conspicuous by the lack of any mention of him.

The Civics texts may be summarized in this connection by saying that none of the three in the Elementary list betrayed any awareness at all of the existence of the Negro race. Of the History texts, two⁽¹⁾ apparently have no content whatever on the Negro. Grootzinger gives a few scattered references to the Negro as does also Lefferts in OUR COUNTRY'S LEADERS, although both authors represent the Negro as an entirely passive character who is merely a background for white abolitionists and other white Americans. Grootzinger's is the only one of the History texts containing any picture of the Negro. This text has several pictures; however, they represent conditions during slavery only.

The Geography texts on the list have, perhaps a somewhat fuller content on the Negro. Lefferts points out that the cotton which is spun and woven by the mills of the North is grown for the most part in our Southern states and that the pickers are, for the most part, Negroes. His text contains one picture of Negroes picking cotton. Branch and Gancy in

(1) Gordy and Rowland

their EASTERN HEMISPHERE give considerable information about Africa and its natives. The people are said not to be very far advanced in civilization; their control by Europeans is said to have improved conditions. The book contains several pictures of the natives illustrating native conditions of life. The same authors in their text on the Western Hemisphere say practically nothing about the Negro in North America beyond showing him as a cotton picker in the cotton belt. However, they show very plainly that Negroes play a large part in the life of the West Indies. There are a number of illustrations supporting this point of view.

Atwood and Thomas, like Branch and Ganoy, have more to say about Negroes in the West Indies than about Negroes in the United States. White people own most of the plantations and carry on all the important business though the populations are largely Negro or mulatto. These people are, for the most part, ignorant and poor but contented and happy, say these authors.⁽¹⁾ They have also a number of illustrations of the colored people of these islands. In the southern states the Negro is pictured as a worker in the cotton fields.

Abrams and Thurston in WORLD GEOGRAPHY deal exclusively with the Negro in Africa and the West Indies. The materials given by these authors on the Negro might be considered confusing by anyone who attempts to read them critically. This

(1) Atwood, W.W., and Thomas, H.G., THE AMERICAS, Ginn and Co. New York, 1938, P. 246

is especially true with reference to the Negro's capacity for work. For example, the climate of South Africa is said to have made the encroaching white people averse to work and to have led them to make slaves of the Negro inhabitants. The British, we are told, freed the slaves after they acquired the country but the Negroes continued to do most of the heavy work. Howbeit, in another place these authors say: "Black men do not work so hard nor so effectively as white men, and the production of the South Africans is not so great as would be the production of an equal number of busy Europeans"*(1) * Most of the continent of Africa is not habitable by white men, say these authors, and "the territory from Uganda to Northern Rhodesia is populated by vigorous races of Negro farmers and herdsmen whom the British are teaching to do the work of the colonies."* * *

Before attempting to make generalized statements regarding the text-books reviewed above, (1) one should bear in mind that many of the above textbooks are used elsewhere in the State and that a cursory examination of books used in other municipalities of the State are very similar to those treated above. Hence, in no way must Philadelphia textbooks be regarded as other than typical of the State and nation as a whole.

(2) These texts are written for three different levels of instruction and include a wide variety of topics, hence, their several organizations, contents, etc., are different.

(1) Abrams, A.W., and Thurston, E.L., WORLD GEOGRAPHY, Iroquois Publishing Co., New York, 1940, P. 256

(3) No textbook can be constructed which will be completely satisfactory for any given racial or cultural minority. (4) The subject of the Negro is, most often, a controversial one and for that reason often an unpopular one with textbook writers and their publishers. Therefore, they generally omit it or treat it as summarily as possible. (5) Moreover, many of the complexities of "the race problem" in America are ^{often} are/ thought to be too difficult or involved to come within the scope of the public schools. (6) All textbooks are supposed to be supplemented abundantly with materials from a wide variety of sources. Hence, in spite of textbook omissions, it is the duty of the teacher to supplement the textbook in such a manner as to make the subject representative. Nevertheless, after making due allowance for the above and other factors, the fact remains that, on the whole, their treatment is unsatisfactory. First of all, a number of the authors show a very poor perspective of history and the other social sciences. They have too often missed the most illuminating parts of the social sciences. This is almost unforgivable. In the second place, some of them seem to be rather unaware, to the point of ignorance, of the Negro in the United States. Third, even those books which are otherwise good, for the most part, seem to follow the general text-book pattern regarding the Negro. Finally, it is unmistakable that taken as a whole, they omit, or deride, or treat very unsatisfactorily the accomplishments of the Negro and simultaneously emphasize the accomplishments of other racial and cultural groups. Whatever may be the

difficulties of textbook writing, there is no justification for the injustices done Negroes by most of the textbooks now used in our schools. On the positive side, there are some few books which are not so bad; a few are fair. These could be used for the moment. In addition thereto, there are many books long since published which will provide teachers and students with a wide knowledge of the constructive side of the American Negro. By all means, these data should be used in the library and in the classroom. It is very encouraging to know that there are some teachers of both races who are making use of these data. The number needs to be multiplied by many times.

Although teachers should supplement these texts with the proper type of materials on the Negro, because of the unique place which the textbook method holds in American education, democracy demands that the Negro be given justice in textbooks. Considering the fact that textbooks in the social studies need revising because of other necessities, the subject of the Negro may well be included. In fact, the whole teaching content, involving the Negro and some other cultural and racial minorities needs to be revised. Many Negro pupils are aware of the fact that the reading and illustrative materials of textbooks, the painting, sculpture, dramatic presentations, stories selected for reading and analysis, etc., very seldom or never give their race the honor it deserves. These facts when combined with the control, administration, and personnel of the school, all tend to make Negro pupils feel that the school "delights them not". They contribute

much to a number of unfavorable attitudes and anti-social tendencies which are partly expressed in truancy, low grades, race hatred, lack of race pride, lack of self-respect, a high delinquency, and final withdrawal from school as soon as possible.

After evaluating all factors, the socio-economic status of the typical Negro pupil is more responsible for his school status than any other factor. Talks with pupils, field trips to Negro schools, or to schools having a considerably large Negro enrollment, conferences with educators, social workers, ministers, and Negro parents, studies in employment, health, and housing, etc., all tend to indicate that as compared with the total white population, Negro children were over-age, underfed, suffered disproportionately from broken homes, were ill-clothed, and ill-housed. These major problems are highly correlated with and contribute to many undesirable school results. This relationship obtains not only because of a necessary ipso facto relationship between and among the factors themselves but ~~also because~~ of their own adverse influences, they indicate an unfavorable socio-economic status. Hence, school grades, school attitudes, school spirit, and, if you please, the results of the so-called intelligence or native ability tests, are considerably influenced by physical fitness, normal family relationships, a "sense of belonging", and a vast variety of non-school attitudes, interests, experiences, and environmental conditions. In other words, what the child does or fails to do in school is largely dependent on factors found in the pupil's "outside of school" environment.

The Negro pupil's reaction to his school arises out of the sum total of his personal relationships with his companions, classmates, school mates, playmates, and members of his own family, as well as the degree of social distance between him and others. In addition to, but closely related to his personal relationships and the degree and kind of social distance, there are other factors: economic, racial, religious, and social which also play a dominant role in the life of the Negro child as he grows older. Our field studies have shown that when all of these factors are combined and equated, the typical Negro pupil problem should be viewed as a very gallant, persevering, loyal and noble spirit. Being aware of the fact that his excellence of attainment whether in educational, political, occupational, religious, social, or other areas, will not bring him the same reward as it will pupils of other races, what he achieves, he does ^{almost} so/in spite of the socio-economic environment about him. Hence, educational restrictions and exclusions merely reflect the larger restrictions and exclusions. Nevertheless, in this great task of making our State, nation, and the world truly democratic, the school must do its part to enable Negro pupils to receive the fullest benefits which are to be derived from excellent accomplishment. As a step in this direction, your Commission submits that our schools should teach practical lessons in democracy by placing qualified Negroes on their faculties at least in numbers commensurate with the Negro's proportion in the total population. This proposal for Negro teachers arises first and last out of present and future needs of students of both races.

36. SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION

Most of the suggestions pertain to needs which existed before the war. The war has brought some of them to a focus and the post-war period will demand action on some of them.

(1) It has been suggested that the public school set-up the proper machinery for the discovery, diagnosis, and preliminary treatment of pre-delinquency. This must be regarded as a part of the normal functions of the school. Practically, most schools spend a deal of time in the various forms of disciplinary problems. The above suggestion is merely designed to treat these problems in the light of the most recent scientific knowledge and to establish means of effectively dealing with them through the resources of the entire community.

(2) Although the schools have a minimum health program, it is generally very inadequate. In cooperation with the State Medical Society and other organizations and agencies involved, a program should be instituted whereby each child should be thoroughly examined at least three times per year. In addition to filing such reports in educational and public health offices, the parents and family physician of each child should receive these reports. Persons too poor to pay in full for these services should receive them at reduced prices or free of cost. In addition thereto, the school medical staff should institute regular check-ups to determine the extent to which corrections are being made. Such a program must be conceived as an integral part of health and physical education, personal, and community hygiene.

(3) In order for the school to do its work most effectively it must bring itself into closer relationship to the home and also the community. Many of the difficulties, whether academic or disciplinary, which beset the school could be greatly reduced by a closer relationship between and among the school, home, and community. Knowing a child's native ability, aptitude, achievement in subject matter, interests and abilities in extra-curricular activities, etc., have long ago been regarded as fundamental to successful teaching. Educators have developed methods of measuring and estimating these capacities and interests. In addition thereto, there must be added a knowledge of the home life, family relationships, and the community background of the child. Techniques for collecting, recording, and interpreting these data must be adopted to school use. The appropriate use of such collected data must be a part of the professional equipment of each teacher.

It is the duty of the school to make use of the entire community resources not merely in the solution of some problem in social pathology, but also as a positive method of teaching and learning. This not merely includes subject matter but also a program to help each student properly integrate himself into his community thereby helping to make him a useful and responsible citizen. Although these considerations are pertinent to the general population, considering the environmental background of the "average" Negro and in view of the fact that the vast majority of the teachers of

Negro children are white, it seems very necessary that the public schools undertake the suggested task with much seriousness.

(4) In general, public education needs an expanded conception of its opportunity and larger duty. It must bring persons of all ages into closer harmony with its aims and ideals. One of the most effective ways of attaining this goal is to integrate recreation and formal education. Recreation must be delightfully educative and education must be delightfully recreative. Education must be conceived as engulfing the whole man and determining his physical, social, mental, aesthetic, and spiritual life. Recreation must also develop these powers. For the most part, one's leisure time should merely tend to complete, balance, and strengthen whatever powers his formal education and vocation have been unable to develop. From a financial point of view, the integration of public education and public recreation is the most economic way of achieving the respective ends of these two publicly supported services. With such a plan both recreation and education will profit; without it, both will be weaker. Next, there should be very close cooperation between the public schools and public recreation on the one hand and private, tax-free, non-profit recreation on the other.

(5) Certain curriculum additions and changes have been suggested. Adult education must not merely be expanded along "day school" lines but a system of folk-education must be instituted. It will be the most feasible way of re-educating

and adjusting the general population to post-war conditions. Certain courses as: consumer education, international and world relations, and inter-cultural education must be taught with personal and national significance. In general, the entire curriculum will need a re-evaluation and re-stating. New textbooks giving due credit to the Negro and other racial and cultural minorities are assumed. It is assumed that teachers and faculties will be ample in both quantity and quality. (6) There are some obligations which pertain to Negro parents, students, and the Negro population in general which must be met more effectively if the school is to attain its goal. Moreover, many of these obligations must be met effectively if the school is to attain its goal. Further, many of these obligations must be met before there can be any substantial improvement in the status of the Negro pupil.

(7) The schools need to teach democracy by the demonstration method. This means a reasonable number of competent Negroes in boards of education, in administrative positions, and in the teaching personnel. It means also that teachers, students, and their parents will share in the policies of the school so far as their respective abilities, experience, knowledge, responsibilities, and duties will permit.

37. HIGHER EDUCATION

The 1940 census data show that 15% of the native whites of the State twenty-five years and over had completed their secondary school education; only 5.7% of Pennsylvania Negroes of that same age grouping were so fortunate. Naturally, holding

general factors constant, this situation has its adverse effect on the number of Negroes entering institutions for higher education. Thus, in 1940, 4.7% of the native white population twenty-five years and older had completed from one to three years of college education; only 1.6% of the state's Negroes of that same age grouping was so fortunate. For those persons of that age grouping who had completed four years or more of education in institutions of higher learning, the percentages are 4.9 and 1.2 respectively for whites and Negroes. It is significant to note that although, on the whole, the educational status of foreign-born whites is worse than that of Negroes, so far as the completion of four or more years of education in colleges and universities is concerned, their status is significantly superior to that of Negroes. It is evident that in proportion to their respective parts in the total population, approximately three times more white than Negro students received from one to three years of undergraduate education; however, four times more white than Negro students had completed four or more years of education in institutions of higher learning.

Thirty Negro leaders in the following localities: Altoona, Ardmore, Chester, Cheyney, Coatesville, Downingtown, Erie, Greensburg, Harrisburg, Johnstown, Lancaster, Media, Morton, Norristown, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Pottsville, Reading, Scranton, Uniontown, Washington, and Wilkes-Barre, responded to the question: "What are the specific problems concerning Negro youth seeking an academic or college education in your

community? In some of the smaller communities, it was pointed out that Negro youth had little incentive to achieve due to the absence of inspiring Negro leaders. In other instances, it was pointed out that parents did not or were not able to give their children sufficient encouragement to seek higher education. In other instances, race prejudice constituted a handicap. However, twenty-two of the thirty respondents indicated that the lack of sufficient funds with which to finance higher education was the greatest handicap to Negro higher education. It requires little analysis to prove the validity of this judgment. Thus, in view of the fact that Negroes find it much more difficult to obtain higher education than whites, and also in view of the comparatively very limited opportunities for Negro graduates of institutions for higher education to obtain employment commensurate with their education, one may be astonished that the situation is no worse.

The State Teachers College at Cheyney, and Lincoln University, are doing much to provide certain types of higher education for the Negro youth of the State. As in several other fields, Pennsylvania led in the establishment of Negro educational institutions. The Cheyney Training School for Teachers, as the successor to the Institute for Colored Youth, is the oldest Negro institution in America. Lincoln University was the first Negro institution in America which was established for higher education. The following description is taken from a recent issue of the University's catalogue:

"History

1849: "While ordaining a young man for missionary work in Africa at New London, Pa., on May 8, the Rev. John Miller Dickey, D.D., Pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Oxford, Pa., conceived the idea of a school for training young colored men to carry the light of the gospel to their own race.

1852: "James Ralston Amos, a young colored man of Chester County, Pa., asked the help of Rev. John Miller Dickey to secure an education. Dr. Dickey's inability to find a school where the youth would be welcome furnished another argument for the establishment of a school for colored men. Meanwhile, Amos walked 28 miles once a week to recite to Dr. Dickey the lessons he had learned. He was to become one of the first three graduates of Ashmun Institute.

1853: In a sermon preached at Oxford, in August, Dr. Dickey said: 'A race enlightened in the knowledge of God will eventually be free. Kindle the lamp of religious knowledge; it will surely light them to an elevated position among the people of the earth.'

The Presbyterian General Assembly approved the plan for the establishment of a school for the Christian training of colored youth, and the Presbytery of New Castle, meeting at Coatesville, Pa., on October 4, authorized the establishment under its supervision of 'an institution to be called Ashmun Institute, for the scientific, classical, and theological education of colored youth of the male sex.' The aim was to train colored ministers and teachers to work among their own race in this country and Africa.

"In this year Dr. Dickey purchased a farm of 30 acres near Hinsonville, Pa., later transferred to a committee, as the site of Ashmun Institute.

1854: "The first charter was granted by the State of Pennsylvania under the title of Ashmun Institute, and was signed by Governor Bigler on April 29.

1856: "Ashmun Institute, was dedicated and its principal, Rev. John P. Carter, D. D., was installed on December 31. The dedicatory sermon was preached by Rev. Courtlandt van Rensselaer, D.D., on the theme, 'God will be glorified in Africa.'

- 1857: "Ashmun Institute was opened on January 1 to **four** students - two in the preparatory school and two in the theological department. During the first few years most of the students were former slaves. At first Dr. Carter was President and faculty in one, continuing as such until 1861. The institute comprised a small three-story building, including dormitory, chapel, recreation room and refectory in its narrow compass, and a single residence for the one instructor.
- 1859: "The first three students completed their studies and went to Africa as missionaries of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. They were Armisted Miller, James R. Ames and Thomas H. Ames.
- 1860: "The beginning of the Civil War found the school operating under great difficulties, financial and otherwise. When the institution faced complete collapse, Dr. Dickey, 'the father of the enterprise, became also its saviour by placing a mortgage on his own home' to raise money to keep it going. Further, according to Dr. Dickey, 'it was at different times threatened with destruction by raids from Maryland.'
- 1864: "Rev. Isaac Norton Randall, D.D., a graduate of Princeton College in the class of 1852 and of the Princeton Theological Seminary in the class of 1855, was called to the Presidency of Ashmun Institute, beginning a service which was to last 40 years as President, and seven more as President-emeritus, giving 'all the rare and noble powers with which he was endowed in body, mind and spirit to the higher education of the young men of the Negro race.' On the day after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, Dr. Randall was on the train en route to assume direction of the Institute. He succeeded Rev. John Wynn Martin, D.D., retired.
- 1866: "In accordance with plans for the expansion of the Institute as outlined by the Trustees in a report to the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1865, the charter of Ashmun Institute was amended by the Legislature of Pennsylvania (approved by Governor Curtin on April 4), and the name was changed to 'The Lincoln University' - the institution thus becoming the first to bear the name of Abraham Lincoln. * * * * *

- 1878: "Rev. John Miller Dickey, D.D., died on March 20 . . . 'So passed this noble man, this 'Prince in Israel,' from the scene of his earthly labors, for, verily, his works do follow him.' * * * * *
- 1906: "Rev. John Ballard Rendall, D.D., nephew of Rev. Isaac Norton Rendall, was elected President of the University. He rounded out a 'Rendall Administration' from 1865 to 1924; '60 years save one - which witnessed the growth of the institution from a primitive beginning to a full-grown college of recognized rank'.
- 1910: "President William Howard Taft spoke at the commencement on June 18, the first President of the United States to address the students of Lincoln University.
- 1912: "Rev. Isaac Norton Rendall, D.D., President for forty years, died on October 15, in his 88th year held in affectionate remembrance as 'a man sent from God'. * * * *
- 1921: "Alumni Arch, memorial to Lincoln men in the World War, dedicated with an address by President Warren G. Harding, the second President of the United States to deliver an address at The Lincoln University.
- 1924: "Rev. John Ballard Rendall, D.D., President since 1906, died on September 3. His service, first as a teacher in the preparatory department, then as a professor in the college, next as Dean of the College, and finally as President of the University, covered more than half a century, a longer term than any other man in its history.
- 1927: "Rev. William Hallock Johnson, D.D., inaugurated as President on October 20 after long service as professor and Dean.
- 1928: "Survey of Negro colleges and universities issued by the United States Bureau of Education contains the following statement 'throughout its long history The Lincoln University has rendered an excellent service to society worthy in every respect of the support that has been accorded it. The institution for many years has been a strong factor in the development of leadership in the Negro race ... The Survey Committee was impressed with the able manner in which the institution was being administered.'

1929: "The Lincoln University celebrated the 75th anniversary of its founding at commencement. President Herbert Hoover, in a message of congratulation, praised 'its splendid services on behalf of the education and of the improvement of the conditions of the Negro, and of his relations with other races.'

1936: "President William Hallock Johnson retired from the presidency January 31, and was succeeded by the Vice President, Walter Livingston Wright, for many years professor of Mathematics. The work of the University went forward rapidly under the administration of President Johnson with large additions to the endowment and the plant."

The following description is taken from a recent catalogue of the Cheyney Training School for Teachers:

"Historical Statement

"From 1837 this institution, known first as the Institute for Colored Youth of Philadelphia, and after 1913 as the Cheyney Training School for Teachers, devoted to the specific task of training colored men and women for professional work in colored schools, was conducted as a private corporation, administered solely, and supported principally, by members of the Society of Friends. The school has always emphasized thoroughness and the adaptation of its activities to the actual needs of those whom it serves.

"The problem of adequate financial support in this undertaking was always serious. Friends met these financial difficulties and kept up high standards. Realizing, nevertheless, that a growing institution rendering a state and nation-wide service, would require increasing resources which no limited corporation could supply, the management requested and secured a careful examination and appraisal of the school by the Department of Public Instruction with a view first, to ascertaining how the school measured up to the revised Pennsylvania program for Normal Schools, and, secondly, with the idea of cooperation and articulation with the general State system.

"The actual work of the school was found to be in all fundamentals of a high order. Only a few modifications were needed to bring the organization into full harmony with the revised State requirements. Those modifications involved the addition of some elective subjects, the extension of facilities for practice teaching, and the lengthening of the High School department by one year.

"The management took immediate action on these improvements, and the institution began the new school year September, 1920, as a standardized Normal School which had met all State requirements, and whose graduates would thereafter receive State certificates, convertible after two years of successful teaching in Pennsylvania, into permanent state diplomas. In 1921 the whole property was transferred to the Commonwealth by regular act of the General Assembly.

"Official Grant of College Status"

"The State Council of Education at its regular meeting on Friday, October 3, 1930, acting on the application of the Cheyney Training School for Teachers for the extension of the curricula in elementary education, home economics, and industrial arts 'did approve the progressive extension of these curricula to four years as rapidly as the budget of the institution permits'. Under this permission and approval, the administration was launched at once upon that long-desired stage of its professional development, namely, a genuine four-year college program. Cheyney is now offering four four-year curricula, two in Elementary Education, one in Home Economics, and one in Industrial Arts. Each of these curricula leads to the degree of Bachelor of Science."

The difficulties which Negroes have in obtaining education in the various branches of medicine have been mentioned in Section 23 above. The leading law schools admit Negroes but seem to have a quota for them which is lower than the Negro's proportion in the general population. However, the comparative dearth of Negro lawyers in the State cannot be attributed

chiefly to this factor. Although some theological schools have "token" admission policies regarding Negroes, on the whole, Negroes may enter these institutions rather freely. Negroes have little difficulty in entering the various graduate schools of art and sciences in the State. Regarding collegiate education, there are some colleges which do not admit Negroes; there are also a few of them which admit only a very few of them. However, the vast majority of undergraduate colleges will admit Negroes. Despite various restrictions and exclusions, Negroes have been able to achieve success in many institutions of higher learning in the State. Table XXIV below is self explanatory:

TABLE XXIV

NUMBER OF NEGRO UNDERGRADUATES IN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES OF PENNSYLVANIA

<u>Name of Institution</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Name of Institution</u>	<u>No.</u>
Albright College	0	Elizabethtown College	0
Allegheny College	3	Franklin & Marshall Col.	0
Beaver College	0	Geneva College	6
Bloomsburg State Teachers College	2	Gottysburg College	0
Bryn Mawr College	0	Grove City College	0
Bucknell University	0	Haverford College	0
California State Teachers College	0	Immaculate College	0
Carnegie Institute	0	Juniata College	2
Cedar Crest College	0	Kutztown State Teachers College	0
Chestnut Hill College	1	Lafayette College	0
Cheyney State Teachers College	217	LaSalle College	1
Clarion State Teachers College	0	Lebanon Valley College	1
Dickinson College	0	Lehigh University	0
Drexel Institute	0	Lincoln University	363
Dropsie College	0	Lock Haven State Teachers College	0
Duquesne University	37	Mansfield State Teachers College	0
East Stroudsburg State Teachers College	0	Marywood College	0
		Mercuryhurst College	0
		Moore Institute of Art	2

Table XXIV continued:

Name of Institution	No.	Name of Institution	No.
Meravian College & Seminary	0	Temple University	63
Meravian College for Women	0	Thiel College	1
Muhlenberg College	0	University of Pennsylvania	No record by race
Pa. College for Women	0	University of Pittsburgh	76
Pa. Military College	0	Ursinus College	0
Pa. State College	20	Villa Maria College	0
Philadelphia College of Pharmacy	4	Villanova College	1
Seton Hill College	0	Washington & Jefferson College	0
Shippensburg State Teachers College	12	Waynesburg College	1
Slippery Rock State Teachers College	1	West Chester State Teachers College	45
Saint Francis College	0	Westminster College	0
Saint Joseph's College	1	Wilson College	0
Saint Thomas College	0		
Saint Vincent College	1	Total	861
Susquehanna University	0		
Swarthmore College	0		

It has been impossible to determine the number of Negro students included in Table XXIV above who reside in other states. Likewise, from the data sent the Commission by officials from colleges and universities located in other states, in the school year 1941-42, there were many Pennsylvania Negro students attending institutions in other states. In the majority of instances, these students go to southern colleges where expenses are generally much cheaper than elsewhere. Many of them are enrolled in professional and other courses which they find difficulty in obtaining in the State.

It will be noted that the Choyney Training School for Teachers and Lincoln University, two Negro institutions, have the lion's share of the State's Negro undergraduates.

Restrictive and exclusion practices and policies are applied to the Negro citizens of the State with sufficient severity and universality to make the Cheyney State Teachers College and Lincoln University a necessity. Many varied factors, among which are the lack of sufficient funds to enroll at other institutions, the resultant effect of discriminative policies, the desire to participate freely in extra-curricular activities, the desire for certain types of cultural developments in atmospheres which are not offered elsewhere, all combine to produce the effect that, were it not for these two institutions, hundreds of Negro citizens of the State would not attend any institution of higher learning. Consequently, it follows that these two institutions, on these as well as other accounts, render distinct and indispensable services to the State. These two institutions afford opportunities for the ~~more~~ religious, physical, social, and aesthetic growth of Negro students, on the college level, which are not possible, at the present time, elsewhere.

Likewise, it is evident that however varied and valid may be the underlying necessities for Cheyney and Lincoln, it is evident that other institutions in the State are, by virtue of their own policies and practices, considerably handicapped in their efforts to enable their Negro students to receive the full benefits of higher education.

In addition to obtaining the views of white administrators and of Negro leaders regarding problems of Negro college and university students, the staff interviewed more than three

hundred Negro students who were enrolled in institutions of higher learning in the State. The following report, made by a committee of four students from the University of Pittsburgh, is very representative and informative:

"This report was compiled by four students who served as a committee to gather data and evaluate the position and conditions as experienced by the Negro population of the University of Pittsburgh. Many students were contacted in a purely informal manner so that their answers to some of the questions would not be given to please the members of the committee or some observer. By this method of questioning the committee was able to gather a more personal viewpoint and thereby formulate its suggestions which appear at the end of the report with respect to a number of needs which, in all probability, represent a cross-section of the needs of Negro students at any urban white university. The committee felt that the position of the Negro in the University could be best understood if considered under three different groups. These were selected as the main points of approach:

1. The degree of segregation experienced by the Negro student.
2. The extent of participation in extra-curricular activities by the Negro student.
3. The attitude of the instructor toward the Negro student and the attitude of the Negro student toward the instructor.

"As a background for discussion of these points, the committee felt that certain facts should be noted concerning the Negro which were acknowledged to exist by all students interviewed. The first and most obvious fact is the realization of the overwhelming number of white students in proportion to the Negro students. Although there are some eighty or ninety Negroes enrolled in the day school, this number is very small in comparison to a total day school enrollment of some 6,000 students. This fact alone tends to make the Negro feel that he is in such a minority that any hope for accomplishment or recognition is almost impossible.

"A second consideration is that a large number of the Negro students lack the facilities for study and work over and above that required in the classroom. Many of the students are up against it financially, find it necessary to work long hours after school and are hard put to even attend all classes. Then, too, these same students, in addition to not having sufficient time to do required work, do not get the proper amount of rest nor nutritious food and consequently their classroom participation may not be as large as it could be if they were living under favorable conditions. Others of the Negro students may not have access to library facilities at home where, in many of the cases, the parents are not college graduates and cannot sympathize with the children in regard to varied reading material. A lack of money seems to be the main problem in this case.

"Another factor which makes the problems of the Negro in all walks of life greater is the lethargic attitude assumed by so many of them. Students in a university, it would seem, should be more interested in and aggressive about solving race problems than any other group of people. They are having the advantage of higher education, so that they may learn how to adjust themselves more satisfactorily to their surroundings and institute changes where change seems necessary. If you try to sell the idea to a great number of the students on the campus, their reaction is shown more by their disinterested behavior than by any specific denial of interest in racial problems. The committee was interested to see just what would happen as far as discussion of racial problems was concerned if one of its members introduced the subject to a group of four or five Negro students. In less than five minutes the conversation had drifted entirely away from the subject to one of social interest. Speaking of lethargic attitudes, these same attitudes extend into preparation of lessons and participation in extra-curricular activities. The trouble is that these same students will go out of college and into life with the same indifference and thereby hold the Negro back as far as progress is concerned by the degree of their disinterest.

"From the foregoing discussions of problems which exist before Negroes begin to make a start toward improvement, the situation seems somewhat deplorable and yet there have been and will continue to be particular instances which have evidenced steps toward eliminating some of the existing problems. The next few paragraphs will deal with the original three main points of approach, namely, segregation, extra-curricular participation and the development of attitudes on the part of the instructor and student.

"The question of segregation has a two-fold connotation. It means segregation by the majority group and a form of self-segregation. Negroes at the University tend to segregate themselves by forming what has been called 'Little Harlem', 'Coon Corner,' 'Ghetto' groupings which are a sore spot to the University and an admittedly high undesirable situation by the bulk of the Negro students. Then, on the other hand, there is the problem of segregation or discrimination against the Negro in some of the organizations on the campus. Except for a few specific organizations, the students acknowledge that there was no problem of segregation within the group by such things as seating all the Negroes together but that there was, in some organizations, an effort to 'bend over backwards' in order to be particularly nice to Negroes so that they sometimes felt uncomfortable. Some of the white students at the University are so friendly with Negro students that they do not mind coming over and sitting with a group of Negroes and talking. Then, too, there are those students who, if they have a chance to make derogatory remarks about Negroes in class, will take advantage of the opportunity.

"Negro students, as a whole, do not participate enough in extra-curricular activities, either because they do not desire to or because they feel they will not get any attention or recognition because of their color. The essential difficulty here is trying to make them realize that they will most certainly get recognition if their work is outstanding enough to merit it. There are some organizations that have traditional barriers against admitting Negroes and two examples are the honorary education fraternity and honorary sophomore

activities fraternity for women. In every instance, these organizations have tapping ceremonies and thereby can limit their membership, but in almost every organization with open membership Negroes are welcomed and treated fairly.

"Finally, and most important in its long-time implications, is a discussion of the attitude of the instructors toward Negro students and the students' attitude toward the instructors. The students all admitted that it would be impossible to eliminate all prejudice from the instructors coming from so many different backgrounds. Most of the students admitted also that they had experienced no positive evidence of rank discrimination but that particular professors seemed to enjoy telling jokes about Negroes which made the students embarrassed at times. The attitude of the Negro student toward the professor who seems to relish telling jokes and making light of the Negroes is one of contempt and disgust. This attitude keeps the students from doing their best work. On the other hand, there are some particular professors who are especially interested in the Negro race and go out of their way to become better acquainted with their Negro students. While on the subject of attitudes, it might be well to consider the advice given to Negroes who are interested in entering certain fields. Students are 'not encouraged' to enter certain fields such as elementary and commercial education, medicine, engineering and advanced sciences rather than being positively discouraged or denied admission to the schools. Negro students, as a rule, go right ahead if they can meet the entrance qualifications. They hope that some organization will employ them after graduation and feel that the University placement bureau will recommend them for positions for which they qualify.

"With the foregoing facts in mind, we submit the following as the beginnings of a conscious effort to eliminate some of the problems which arise among Negroes attending an urban white university:

1. That Negroes get rid of the idea that they are inferior because of their color.
2. That by a series of deliberate efforts they try and educate some of the white students and instructors about the accomplishments of Negroes.

3. That Negroes take a more active part in campus life by joining organizations in which they are interested and doing their best work when they get in them.
4. That Negroes learn more about vocational opportunities both in their own district and in others when a curriculum of study is being chosen.
5. That Negroes try to make as high marks as possible to show the professors and students that they are not inferior.
6. That the Negro students form an organization which might act as a go-between when some problem arises on the campus.
7. That Negro students learn to cooperate in problem-solving and any other difficulty which might arise.

Committee Membership

Mr. Robert King
 Miss Alma Thomas
 Miss Phyllis Washington
 Miss Marion Bayless, Chair-
 man

The problem of the mixed institution is complicated since it involves not merely the trustees, administration, and their respective faculties but also students, parents, alumni, and society at large. This being the case, the authorities of the mixed institutions must, to some extent, be conscious of the demands of the various social pressures in this regard. Nevertheless, far be it from your Commission to justify the present conditions. On the contrary, all constituencies of the mixed institutions should jointly develop a program whereby the rest of society will come to recognize the fact that both democracy and Christianity demand the proper solution of the difficulties at hand. There can be no effective compromise with the demands of democracy and Christianity.

On the other side of the picture, Cheyney and Lincoln are greatly handicapped on account of the lack of funds. While these two institutions cannot afford to reduce their laudable efforts in promoting the physical, social, aesthetic, and spiritual growth of their students, they are, nevertheless, institutions for higher learning and as such are finally expected to achieve standardly in this area. What a task!

Without a considerable increase in their present funds, it is difficult for them to properly enroll and so instruct, in four years, the typical Negro student that at graduation he or she can fulfill the expectations of a college graduate. How could it be otherwise, when the typical Negro student must learn many things at college which the typical white student has learned through numerous avenues of informal education? In other words, the environmental opportunities of the typical white student correlate much more closely to the accepted aims of a college education than do the environmental opportunities of the typical Negro student. To these difficulties, we must add another rather serious one, namely, that the Negro undergraduate is aware of the fact that neither educational institutions nor society in general will give the proper reward for excellent accomplishments in the criteria of college or university success. Astonishingly enough as it may appear to many, every other institution of the State will experience, in a great measure, this same difficulty. Enjoying and contributing to life on the college level involves more financial resources, more freedom of participation, and a greater recognition of merit than our present social order permits to any considerable number of Negro citizens.

EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME

The present unfavorable economic status of the Negro in Pennsylvania arises out of more than two centuries of circumscription, separation, and discrimination which have always exceeded that of the general population or any other element thereof. Although there have been many individual examples to the contrary, as compared with the general population, Negroes have been deprived of their share of skilled, supervisory, managerial, professional, governmental, industrial, commercial, and financial means of earning a living. Thus, Negroes have been disproportionately concentrated in the most unremunerative and insecure occupations.

38. A Brief Occupational Background of Pennsylvania Negroes

It has been observed that the majority of Negro slaves were farm "hands", farmers, and domestic servants. However, among both slaves and freemen, there were many semi-skilled and skilled workers. After freedom in Pennsylvania, Negroes continued in their former occupations but seemed to have increased their skills. They also established business enterprises such as restaurants, barber, shoe, and tailor shops. At certain periods in their history, they had a considerably large part of the skilled work in Philadelphia. In 1837, Negroes were engaged in some thirty or more different occupations in the Pittsburgh area. In 1838, they were engaged in fifty-seven different occupations in Philadelphia. During this period, the evidence seems to indicate that the percentage of Negroes operating business establishments and those who were occupied

in semi-skilled and skilled trades was in excess of the Negro's ratio in the general population. Moreover, many Negroes became independent and several became wealthy during this period. Nevertheless, this favorable status did not last long. The numerous riots, anti-abolition sentiment, the influx of foreign-born workers, many of whom opposed the presence of Negro workers in semi-skilled and skilled capacities, any many other unfavorable factors all combined to produce the effect that by 1880, it was very obvious that in terms of occupational diffusion, Negroes had definitely lost much ground which they have never regained.

The census report for 1930 gave the employment of Negroes in Pennsylvania as 214,319; there were 148,288 Negro males and 66,031 females. 61% of the total Negro population ten years of age and over were gainfully employed in 1930. The percentage of gainfully employed males was 82.9; of females 38.3⁽¹⁾

Table XXV indicates those types of male employment having the greatest numbers:

TABLE XXV	
LEADING OCCUPATIONS OF NEGRO MEN	
Laborers and Helpers,	Number
Building Construction	15,596
Laborers, Blast Furnace, &	
Steel Rolling Mills	10,102
Chauffeurs, Truck Drivers &	
Traction Drivers	8,745
Operatives, Coal Mines	7,574
Servants	7,465
Janitors and Sextons	5,635
Porters and all types of	
Laborers in stores	7,886

(1) P. 300 of the 1930 Census

Among the most significant findings relative to the occupational status of Pennsylvania Negro males ten years and over in 1930 are: (1) that of 148,288 only 3,718 or 2.50% of them were engaged in agriculture. This decline has been gradual, especially since 1900. (2) Although Pennsylvania Negro males were acceptable in nearly as wide a range of occupations as were white Pennsylvania males, more than four-fifths of the Negro males were unskilled, semi-skilled, and domestic and personal service workers. Hence, (3) although there was a gain in the volume and variety of Negro employment over former decades, there was a serious lack of occupational diffusion among Negro males. In fact, in terms of white occupational diffusion, the typical Negro male worker of 1930 made relatively no significant gains in occupational diffusion over the typical Negro worker of 1900, 1910, and 1920. Moreover, although as yet, a complete analysis of 1940 employment and occupational data is not available, the available data tend to indicate that the decade of 1940 is not significantly different from the 1900-1930 period.

Table XXVI below lists the types of employment in which Negro women were most frequently engaged in 1930:

TABIE XXVI.

LEADING OCCUPATIONS OF NEGRO WOMEN

Servants	43,474
Laundry Operatives . . .	2,574
Waitresses	1,875
Hairdressers and Manicurists	899
Operatives, Cigar and Tobacco Factories . . .	832
Teachers.	668

Relative to the 66,031 Negro females, ten years and over, who were gainfully employed in 1930, the following facts seem significant: (1) that of the nearly ninety different occupational classifications and sub-classifications listed for Negro males, Negro women were listed as being employed in only twenty-one of them. Although as compared with white men, white women are rather restricted in terms of occupational diffusion, by comparison, they do not suffer as badly as Negro women. (2) From Table XXVI it will be observed that 43,474, or approximately two-thirds of the Negro women were engaged as domestic and personal servants. (3) Moreover, twelve of these twenty-one occupational classifications account for 78.58% of the total Negro female labor which was gainfully employed in 1930. (4) Practically, it meant that in more than four-fifths of the instances, when a Negro woman sought work to take care of herself, or most often, to supplement the family income, she had to look forward to domestic service or some other type of employment of similar pay. In accordance with competence, Negroes, like other people enjoy work in jobs of their choice and interests. Thus, such discriminatory employment not only means sub-marginal and marginal living but it means economic waste and blighted employment outlook all of which tend greatly to destroy morale.

In order to get a more concrete picture of the exceedingly narrow limitations of Negro employment opportunities Table XXVII is presented:

TABLE XXVII

LEADING OCCUPATIONS OF NEGRO WORKERS IN PHILADELPHIA - 1930

	NUMBER	Percent of total workers
MALE:		
Unskilled laborers: Business, Trade and Industrial Plants	20,729	42.0
Unskilled Laborers: Railroad, Road, and State	4,418	47.7
Laborers: Public Service	1,649	45.
Domestic and Personal Service	15,227	35.0
Industrial & Building Trade Craftsmen . . .	7,910	4.4
Chauffeurs and Truck Drivers	5,311	21.6
Business: Clerks, Dealers, Salesmen, etc..	4,773	2.8
Industrial Operations	3,082	4.
Longshoremén	2,227	55.
Professional Services	1,795	5.4
FEMALE:		
Domestic and Personal Service	36,349	52.
Industrial Workers (mainly tobacco and clothing)	3,708	5.9
Dressmakers and Seamstresses	640	19.0
Professional Services (excluding School Teachers)	597	3.8
Office clerks, Stenographers, Typists, etc .	476	0.35
School Teachers	461	4.5
Store Clerks, Saleswomen	364	1.6

It is observed that although Negro men were 11.3% of the total male Philadelphia population, they constituted from 42 to 47% of the city's total unskilled laboring force. Proportionately, there were more than three times as many male Negro domestic servants as there were whites. Further, with the possible exception of longshoremén, Negro men were far below their quota in the better paying types of employment. Despite the fact that Negro women were 11.3% of the general female population, they constituted more than one-half of the city's total number of domestic servants. On the whole, it is very obvious that although the volume of Negro employment in Philadelphia was

tremendous, it was restricted to these types of employment yielding the lowest incomes. More specifically, the incomes of approximately ninety percent of the Philadelphia Negroes were sub-marginal and marginal. The case of Philadelphia is typical of other municipalities.

It is true that most of the major occupational characteristics of Pennsylvania Negroes are not unique to the state for it is obvious that the status of Pennsylvania Negroes fits very well into the national picture. Nevertheless, insofar as white citizens are responsible for the employment limitations of the Negro citizens of the State, the typicality of the situation does not offer a valid excuse therefor. On the contrary, given the natural and human resources of the State, the traditional cultural ideal of Pennsylvania, the federal constitution, and the war aims of the United Nations, white citizens of the State should accept the challenge to improve the situation immediately and permanently.

Although most of the 1930 employment gains by Negro men did occur in unskilled or common labor occupations, the opportunity to secure a foot-hold in industries is not without its advantages. The point remains, however, that a study of business cycles and immigration will show that Negroes came East in considerable numbers only when there was a shortage of European labor or when there were other types of common labor shortages. The results of such studies are as significant for Pennsylvania as for other non-southern states. Thus, during World War I when production was multiplied to meet war-time

needs, also a time during which foreign labor supply was being cut off, Negroes were recruited to eastern factories. The Negro population in several localities, where the need for workers was most acute, grew very rapidly.

The years from 1923 to 1926 drew additional thousands of Negro workers into Philadelphia, Steelton, Harrisburg, Pittsburgh and other parts of Allegheny County, Chester, and Coatesville to work in steel mills, railroad yards, shipyards, and along the piers. In 1923, more than 57,000 Negroes were employed in Pennsylvania industries and the proportion of Negroes reached the high point of 4.19% of the total industrial workers. So far as the number of jobs is concerned, employment in many other areas was just as good as in industry.

In Allegheny County, Negro coal miners increased very rapidly. The Negro's entrance into the coal mining industry in large numbers came during 1925 and 1927 in the role of strike-breakers. As late as 1920 only 72 Negroes had been employed as miners in the Pittsburgh District. Prior to the 1927 coal strike, 7% of the Pittsburgh Coal Company's normal force of 11,000 and 20% of the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Company's normal force of 3,000 were Negroes. During the strike the number of Negroes employed by the Pittsburgh Coal Company rose to 3,500 or 40% of the total in December, 1927.

As Table XXVIII indicates, 1923 was the peak year for Negro employment in Pennsylvania industrial and mining establishments. The manner of the decline is indicated. From another angle, it may be observed that as compared with the decline in

the volume of white employment, the Negro decrease has ranged from 1.37 to 7.73 times that of whites.

TABLE XXVIII

NUMBER OF NEGRO WAGE EARNERS IN PENNSYLVANIA INDUSTRY, 1922-1940

Year	Total Wage Earners	Negro Wage Earners	Per- cent Negro
1922	1,248,905	42,569	3.41
1923	1,363,986	57,112	4.19
1924	1,269,165	49,845	3.93
1925	1,275,044	52,066	4.08
1926	1,298,781	54,122	4.18
1927	1,278,904	49,818	3.89
1928	1,237,970	46,836	3.78
1929	1,275,245	45,877	3.60
1930	1,191,983	39,732	3.33
1931	1,083,113	32,216	2.97
1932	929,022	25,392	2.73
1933	1,015,298	28,875	2.84
1934	1,092,784	30,194	2.76
1935	1,122,952	30,654	2.73
1936	1,216,727	34,790	2.86
1937	1,284,439	36,967	2.88
1938	1,093,056	30,140	2.76
1939	1,161,893	32,216	2.77
1940	1,250,744	34,478	2.76

The picture presented by Table XXVIII is characteristic of what happened in all areas of employment. Nevertheless, there are rather positive indications that unemployment may have been even worse in other areas. Many types of factors: the depression, personal, social, racial, economic, technical, and otherwise, combined to produce the very drastic reduction in Negro employment. Why were Negro workers "first to be fired and the last to be hired"? For the moment, let us deal with these factors which were largely caused by the "times" themselves, - the depression and recession, not forgetting, however, the interplay of the factors to be mentioned later.

First, the chief occupations in which Negroes engaged were more severely affected by the depression than other occupations. For instance, the "let down" in the building and construction trades resulted in the displacement of thousands of Negro laborers. The slowing up of steel production caused many to lose jobs obtained in the Steelton, Coatesville, and the Pittsburgh areas. The reduction of shipping activities in and out of the Port of Philadelphia put out of work wholly or placed on a part-time basis, several hundred Negro longshoremen.

While the exclusion and restrictive policies of business establishments have hindered Negro citizens of the State for scores of years, Negroes shared the jobs in the domestic service fields in numbers far in excess of their proportion in the total population. However, the depression was accompanied by considerable reduction in family incomes so that thousands of Negroes either lost their jobs or their wages were reduced below the requirements of bare existence. Indeed, relief grants, in numerous instances, are known to have been more profitable than certain wages offered in the domestic service fields. The so-called "slave markets" which arose as a result of these general conditions are well known.

The following quotation from a 1934 unemployment survey in Allegheny County is rather significant:

"The foreign-born workers and the colored workers are to a very large extent unskilled labor heavily concentrated in those lines of activity which were more nearly paralyzed during the depression, such as heavy manufacturing and construction. The foreign-born are greatly concentrated in communities in which opportunities for girls and women are limited. For Negro girls

and women also, gainful opportunities are limited, existing largely in domestic service and related menial tasks in which, with the crash of both family and business income, curtailment was severe."

Second, the fact remains that Negro workers in Pennsylvania business establishments are the new comers having the least favorable length-of-service records; and partly as a result thereof, they occupy the position of marginal workers. This is but another way of saying that the Negro is the last to be hired and the first to be fired. Thus, in addition to increased experience, employees with seniority had greater opportunities to work themselves into the good graces of the management and to establish the impression that their services are more indispensable. Often, various means other than seniority are used to influence the management in the selection of employees to be retained; in such instances, the Negro suffers most.

A third factor operating against the Negro worker has been his lesser skill in instances where he was thrown in competition with workers of many years of experience. Remembering that during normal times Negroes were not "up-graded" as rapidly as were other workers, when jobs were at a premium, skilled workers have often applied for jobs of lesser skill than those to which they are normally accustomed. Thus, in order to increase production, without increasing labor costs, Negro workers were often displaced. Although the Negro suffered, this procedure is generally regarded as good business practice.

Fourth, technological advancement takes its heaviest toll on unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Moreover, when technological advancement eradicates or reduces to a bare minimum, entire divisions of industrial employment, unskilled and semi-skilled workers find it most difficult to adjust themselves and also to find new employment. Since the vast majority of Negro workers are unskilled and semi-skilled, the consequences of technological unemployment affects Negroes more severely than workers of the general population. For example, in Pittsburgh, machine technology has advanced rapidly in the steel industry, with the result that the number of Negroes employed has been steadily diminishing in proportion to the total working force. Thus, it was months after Pearl Harbor before Negroes reached their former ratio in the steel industry.

Due to the four factors listed above and others soon to be listed, an employment survey of Philadelphia, for instance, made by the Department of Industrial Research, Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, the University of Pennsylvania, in 1931, revealed that Negroes were unemployed to the extent of 34.8% of their total employable number. In other words, one of every three Negro persons of employable status was without a job. At the same time the percentage of unemployed native whites was 23.9; and of foreign-born whites, 25.0. Negro male workers were unemployed 1.39 times native whites. As of April, 1933, 59% of the employable Negro workers were unemployed; whereas only 44% and 43.6% of the native white and foreign-born employable workers respectively, were unemployed.

In Pittsburgh, the picture was also one of a disproportionate unemployment of Negro workers. As late as 1937, according to the Unemployment Census of that year, Negroes comprised approximately 17.4% of the city's unemployed while their percentages in the total employable population was only 8.4%. Of these totally unemployed, those working on emergency projects and those partly employed, Negroes comprised 17.7%, 20.6% and 12.8% respectively. In 1937, 16,299 Pittsburgh Negroes were unemployed. In other words, 40% of the Negro employable population was unemployed, while of the 440,684 employable whites only 83,916 or 17.2% were unemployed.

The tendency of Negroes to be unemployed many times their proportion in their respective total populations was found to prevail on a nation-wide scale in 1935. The following passage from the report is rather valuable:

"The Negro has been forced to seek aid from relief agencies because of all the reasons which affect white persons plus a number which affect the Negro only. In general, the Negro's economic position is so insecure that he has been one of the worst victims of the depression. He has been forced on relief rolls by traditional factors directed against him because of his race."

In enumerating some of the reasons "which affect the Negro only", practically the same factors were given as have been given in the previous section of this report. The first six were:

"1. Concentration of Negroes in economic groups which have contributed heavily to the relief rolls; i. e., unskilled labor and domestic service workers.

"2. Lower wage scales for Negroes than whites.

"3. Racial discrimination in lay-offs and re-employment. The Negro worker is traditionally the first to be discharged and the last to be re-hired.

"4. The displacement of Negro labor. He is being crowded out of traditionally 'Negro jobs' and occupational shifts brought about by the depression are crowding him out of the cheap labor field.

"5. Industrial color bans. There have always been industries which have refused to employ Negro workers.

"6. Color bans among organized labor. The Negro is frequently denied membership in labor unions. This discrimination has severely restricted his opportunities for employment, particularly under that part of the recovery program which gives preference to organized labor."

More than four thousand questionnaires were sent to employers whose names were drawn from the Ninth Industrial Directory. More than three thousand and five hundred questionnaires were sent to other types of business concerns. No questionnaires were sent to business establishments in localities in which there were less than one hundred Negroes. In order to keep abreast the rapidly changing employment picture, several additional sample studies were made beginning in October, 1940 to November, 1942. The quality and volume of Negro employment will be discussed elsewhere. For the moment, we shall confine our discussion to those aspects of these sample studies which pertain to factors underlying restrictive and exclusion employment policies and practices regarding Negroes. Although those firms which employed Negroes did so in excess of their proportion in the total population, they relegated more than

80% of the Negro workers to the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs.

In the supervisory, technical, managerial, executive, administrative, and similar positions, Negroes are a negligible quantity. In short, Negroes as a group were found in the lowest paid jobs in all types of business concerns.

All business establishments were asked to indicate whether or not they employed Negroes and if so, did their respective firms have restrictive policies regarding the types of employment given Negroes. In addition, the staff made numerous field trips to discuss these matters with personnel men in twelve different localities covering 90% of the state's Negro population.

In summary, our returns indicate that the chief reasons given for the exclusion or restriction of Negro workers seem to be:

1. Negroes are not employed because it has been the custom of the firm to employ only whites.

2. Negroes allegedly lack training to do the skilled tasks involved.

3. Negroes have not applied for work.

4. Unionization prevents the employment of Negroes.

5. Negroes and whites do not work together harmoniously.

Thus, public opinion, some employers, the lack of skilled training on the part of most Negro workers, some labor unions, and other employees contribute to discriminatory policies against the employment of Negroes. Due to the ramifications prejudice and increased competition in the labor market, the

nature and supply of Negro labor has influenced public opinion, on the demand side of the picture. It is considered proper to give certain types of work to Negroes and to refuse them others. This opinion has, in many cases, been faddish, so that a change in style has often deprived Negroes of jobs which they formerly held. This is particularly true in domestic and personal service.

Public opinion is, in part, of course, a composite of the opinions of employers so that often a mere foreman formulates employment policies or is responsible for employment policies with respect to Negroes. Too often, employers misjudge public opinion with respect to the positions Negroes may hold. The public is often much more tolerant than many employers indicate. The role of some unions in restricting the employment of Negroes regardless of the opinion or indifference of the employer, is well known. Because of the exclusions and restrictive policies of the vast majority of firms and labor unions, many Negroes become discouraged and fail to apply for work at a number of firms. Admitting that many employers may be in error when they say that no Negro has applied, we have reason to believe that, in many instances, the statement is true. In such instances, the employer can hardly be at fault. However, in localities in which there are Negroes, this is not true in the majority of instances.

On the employment questionnaires, a comparative rating of Negro employees was requested with respect to punctuality, dependability, honesty, efficiency, interest in work, reliability,

and regularity. The returns from the State for the April, 1941 sample are taken from the PRELIMINARY REPORT of the Commission:

TABLE XXIX

RATING OF NEGRO EMPLOYERS ON PERSONAL QUALITIES

Ratings	Punctuality	Dependable	Honesty	Efficiency	Interest in work	Reliability	Regularity
Excellent or Very good	12	3	8	6	9	8	10
Satisfactory or Good	40	29	36	27	49	26	28
Average or Fair	47	28	36	40	38	16	27
Variable: Yes or No	6	4	7	9	11	8	7
Below Average or Poor	10	7	12	10	17	16	24

Table XXIX affords evidence of the fact that those firms which do employ Negro labor find it satisfactory in the majority of instances. In November, 1942, a number of personnel representatives of firms which had formerly hired only a few Negroes were asked to compare Negro and white workers in terms of the above qualities. On the whole, the reactions were favorable. That they were no more satisfactory was due, in a large measure to the inability of management to select the most competent Negro labor and adjust some of the problems involved. These problems are discussed below.

The two sample studies of the Commission are largely substantiated by other studies. Mr. William Barnes O'Conner of the National Industrial Conference Board ⁽¹⁾ requested one

(1) "The Use of Colored Persons in Skilled Occupations", THE CONFERENCE BOARD MANAGEMENT RECORD, volume 3, No. 12, December, 1941, P. 158

hundred and two managements of industries which employ Negroes to compare them with white workers on certain qualities regarding ability and skill. One management said that Negroes were superior, thirty-one said that they were poorer but seventy indicated that Negroes were equal to whites. In terms of production, although twelve managements stated that Negroes were poorer, five stated that they were better, and eighty-five stated that they were equal to whites. The record for regularity is perhaps a little worse but not seriously so, for whereas thirty-two stated that Negroes were poorer, five stated that they were superior and sixty-four stated that they were equal to whites.⁽¹⁾ Considering the numerous handicaps of the Negro worker, these estimations of management in regard to the general desirability of the use of Negro labor are most encouraging. It requires little imagination to see where Negro labor would stand if given a fair chance.

That Negroes are capable of rendering efficient, dependable and reliable service was established by the Negro Survey of Pennsylvania conducted by the Department of Welfare in 1924. At that time hundreds of employers of Negro labor, including such companies as the Pennsylvania Railroad, United Gas Improvement, Philadelphia Rapid Transit, Westinghouse Electric, Lukens Steel Works, Atlantic Refining, to name a few, were highly complimentary of their colored employees. One firm replied: "They are among the best we have"; another, "As good or probably better than whites for services required"; a third, "Compare favorably with other groups". A petroleum refining company

employing over six hundred Negro workers at the time, with nearly one-half skilled or semi-skilled positions remarked: "We find colored labor as efficient, regular and desirable as other races". Your Commission has in its files hundreds of statements just as good as these.

Faithfulness to those who give him a "square deal" is an almost universal trait of the Negro. Even in spite of restrictions and exclusions, and in spite of the fact that almost any foreigner has a better chance of promotion, sabotage and other forms of disloyalty are nil among Negro workers. Consequently, it is impossible to understand why Negro workers are not given better opportunities for advancement to responsible positions.

In spite of the comparatively low status of Negro workers, in the majority of business establishments, most employers feel that the Negro can hope for advancement into higher paying positions, provided he improves the quality of his labor. Most probably this indicates that racial discrimination can be overcome, in many instances, by above average and exceptional ability and performance. Some employers recommend more education, particularly in the vocational arts, as a means of improving the quality of workmanship and preparing for better jobs. In other cases, it is advised that Negro workers try to improve certain personal qualities which tend to hold them back; to avoid intoxication, stealing, dishonesty, aggressiveness, and tardiness, and to take more interest in their jobs. No doubt, Negro workers need to improve the quality of their services.

This, they must do in spite of their handicaps. On the other-hand, employers and others must realize that the best way to improve the quality of Negro labor is to advance it on the same basis as white labor is advanced. Other incentives, though they possess the wisdom of Solomon, shall not change the situation significantly.

39. Unemployment and Charity

With underprivileged and economically insecure people it is but a short step from the loss of jobs to dependency upon charity. In 1937, it was reported that 19.89% of those receiving general assistance in the State were Negroes. Hence, Negroes were on relief rolls more than four times their proportion of the total population. The discrepancy between proportion in the total population, unemployment, relief, and WPA proportions is brought out in Table XXX. If the figures for NYA, aid to dependent children, blind pensions, and other forms of public and private charity were added, one could get a more complete picture of the excessive degree to which the Negro citizens of the State were dependent upon charity especially from 1931 to 1940. While we do not know how reliable are figures at hand for all forms of private charity, we do know, however, that Negroes were recipients of private charity far in excess of their proportion in the total population and also far in excess of the amounts which they contributed to private charity.

TABLE XXX
COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO TOTAL UNEMPLOYED WITH PER-
CENTAGE OF NEGRO TO TOTAL GENERAL ASSISTANCE RECIPIENTS AND
WITH PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO TO TOTAL WPA EMPLOYEES
Percentage of Negroes to Total

	Unemployed - Federal Census of Nov. 1937	GA Recipients ⁽¹⁾ Aug., 1937	WPA ⁽²⁾ Employees March, 1939
The State	11.3	19.9	9.1
Philadelphia	28.7	41.9	28.0
Pittsburgh	18.9	28.5	21.0
Scranton	0.8	0.7	0.5
Erie	3.1	4.0	2.4
Reading	4.7	3.6	6.5

(1) Data shown are for the respective county units containing the cities listed.

(2) Data shown are for the respective WPA districts containing the cities listed.

Tables XXXI and XXXII indicate that, proportionately, there was little change in the relief situation during the year 1939. Whereas the 1940 census indicates that Negroes were 4.7% of the population, 16.13% of the dependent children were Negroes. This indicates further family disorganization for which situation unemployment and low income are partly responsible. The fact that Negroes receive blind pensions in excess of their proportion in the total population is partly due to their greater health hazards, poorer health, and their low economic status.

TABLE XXXI
AVERAGE NUMBER OF ASSISTANCE RECIPIENTS IN PENNA. (Estimated 1939)

	Total	N U M B E R		P E R C E N T A G E	
		White	Negro	White	Negro
General Assistance	744,000	596,000	148,000	80.11	19.89
Old-Age Assistance	83,000	79,300	3,700	95.54	4.46
Aid to De- pendent Children	93,000	78,000	15,000	83.87	16.13
Blind Pensions	12,350	11,550	800	93.52	6.48

TABLE XXXII					
EXPENDITURES FOR ASSISTANCE IN PENNSYLVANIA (Estimated 1939)					
		A M O U N T		PERCENTAGE	
	Total	White	Negro	White	Negro
General Assistance	\$91,646,000	\$73,415,000	\$18,231,000	80.11	19.39
Old-Age Assistance	20,329,000	19,434,000	894,000	95.32	4.40
Aid to Dependent Children	10,841,000	9,085,000	1,756,000	83.80	15.46
Blind Pension	4,432,000	4,145,000	287,000	95.52	6.48

XXXIII

From Tables/and XXXIV below it is evident that in 1940, there was a very drastic reduction in the number of recipients of general relief. With reference to white people, this reduction most probably is a fair indication of the effects of the National Defense program but it is very doubtful if the reduction of the Negro relief load represents this tendency to the same extent. Admitting that there was an increase in employment among Negroes, the percentage of increase certainly was not proportional to the reduction of Negroes on relief. The Executive Director was informed by officials in several communities, that automatic reduction in the number of relief recipients during 1940 and the large part of 1941 were ordered from the main office in Harrisburg.

TABLE XXXIII					
AVERAGE NUMBER OF ASSISTANCE RECIPIENTS IN PENNA. (Estimated, 1940)					
		N U M B E R		PERCENTAGE	
	Total	White	Negro	White	Negro
General Assistance	503,000	403,000	100,000	80.12	19.88
Old-Age Assistance	97,000	91,200	5,800	94.02	5.98
Aid to Dependent Children	129,000	104,000	25,000	80.62	19.38
Blind Pensions	13,000	12,130	870	93.31	6.69

TABLE XXXIV
EXPENDITURES FOR ASSISTANCE IN PENNSYLVANIA (Estimated, 1940)

General					
Assistance	\$60,923,000	\$48,799,000	\$12,124,000	80.10	19.90
Old-Age					
Assistance	25,326,000	23,806,000	1,520,000	94.00	6.00
Aid to Dependent					
Children	16,659,000	13,444,000	3,215,000	80.70	19.30
Blind Pensions	4,672,000	4,359,000	313,000	93.31	6.69

In interpreting Tables XXXIII and XXXIV in the PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE COMMISSION, the Executive Director stated: ⁽¹⁾

"Considering the sizeable reduction in the total number of recipients of general relief, one wonders whether the sizeable increase in the number of persons receiving old-age assistance is due wholly to natural causes or whether it is influenced by other factors. However, it seems evident that there must have been some factors, such as budgetary limitations, or a change in the policies for the eligibility, or a change in the administration of aid to dependent children, influencing the increase in this aid because the regulations involving eligibility for aid to dependent children are such that, if there is a very drastic reduction in the relief loads, which should indicate an upward trend in business, there should be some reduction in the aid to dependent children load. It is not expected that the decrease in the aid to dependent children load should correspond directly to the general relief reduction but the trend of these two assistance loads should be in the same direction."

In a letter to the Commission dated September 16, 1942, the Honorable Howard L. Russell, Secretary of the Department of Public Assistance stated:

"From these rather scanty data we have prepared the following estimates showing the

(1) P. 23

average percentages of Negroes and whites, respectively, in the general population, who have received State assistance under each of the four State programs during each of the years from 1937 to 1941. It is impossible to make a scientific guess regarding a race breakdown of recipients for the years prior to 1937 and the data which I am furnishing below for the later years may contain a considerable degree of error:

PER CENT OF NEGROES AND WHITES IN GENERAL POPULATION RECEIVING
STATE ASSISTANCE OR BLIND PENSIONS

	Negroes					White				
	GA	OAA	ADC	BP	Total	GA	OAA	ADC	BP	Total
1937*	19.9	0.3	0.6	0.2	21.5	4.0	0.9	0.5	0.1	5.5
1938	27.5	0.8	0.8	0.2	29.3	5.5	0.9	0.6	0.1	7.1
1939	31.6	0.8	3.2	0.2	35.8	6.3	0.8	0.8	0.1	8.0
1940	21.1	1.2	5.3	0.2	27.8	4.3	1.0	1.1	0.1	6.5
1941	11.6	1.7	10.6	0.2	24.1	2.0	1.0	1.7	0.1	4.8

* Per cent Ratio of Average Number of Recipients to Total Population of Each Race

"The increases in OAA and ADC during the last two or three years may be attributed to changes in eligibility requirements for those types of assistance rather than to changes in assistance needs. In large measure, they represent transfers from the general assistance rolls."

As of January 1, 1941, Negroes constituted 12.4% of the total WPA employees of the State which means that they were employed by WPA 2.75 times their proportion in the total population. Official information shows that Negroes remained on WPA longer than whites. In 1939, 28.2% of the Negro WPA employees had been working three or more years, whereas only 22.8% of the white employees had been working for the same length of time. This partly explains the fact that, as of January 1, 1941, whereas Negroes were 12.4% of the total WPA employees they received 12.8% of the wages. In general, State NYA statistics for the periods involved are very similar to WPA data.

Far more serious than income from public and private charity is the fact that there were many thousands of Negro workers whose mean annual income, due to part-time employment and to extremely low wages in a very wide area of employment, was not significantly higher than that received by relief clients. An astounding study was made in Philadelphia, in 1936, which showed that there were 203 companies and agencies covering many representatives of the manufacturing field, building and construction trades, the utilities, governmental units, hospitals and other health fields, and the various service fields, which gave full-time employment to people to whom they paid wages so low that their income had to be supplemented by relief grants. There were hundreds of similar fields providing part-time employment paying wages which had to be supplemented by relief grants. However, the minimum wage law changed the situation considerably with reference to full-time employment in all of those areas to which the law was applicable. Unfortunately, it so happens that this law did not affect areas of employment in which the majority of Negroes were engaged.

There were also many thousands of full-time Negro porters, janitors, elevator operators, laundry workers, and certain types of factory workers whose mean annual income was within the income range of WPA workers. The fact is that the jobs most frequently offered Negroes did not compare favorably with WPA employment in terms of either or all of the following factors: rates per hour, working conditions, desirable work experience, creative experience, security, and the amount to be earned.

On the other hand, it should be pointed out that even in "good times", the majority of Negro citizens lived on sub-standard and marginal incomes. Thus many reliable agencies have showed that the income of the Negro masses is insufficient to enable them to meet accepted standards of living.

During the past decade, public and private charity have afforded more than half the income of the Negro population. For thousands of Negroes, only the worst sub-standard living was possible. However, this does not adequately represent the facts; for, in almost every basic fundamental requirement, public and private charities and philanthropists have subsidized thousands of Negroes, not officially on public charity, through free services and services at considerably reduced costs. To these agencies and individuals, many thanks are given, but the real need of the Negro is equal occupational opportunity and not alms. Your Commission submits that the same sympathetic, humane, and altruistic motives which have led public and private agencies and individuals to permit Negroes to share a much larger proportion of public and private charitable funds than their ratio in the total population may well prompt them to take the lead in the most advanced democratic and Christian program of promoting economic justice among all citizens of the State.

40. THE STATUS OF NEGRO EMPLOYMENT SINCE 1938

The 1940 census indicates that whereas Negroes were only 4.70% of the total population of the State, they constituted 5.12% of the total number of persons fourteen years of age and

older who were in the State's labor force.⁽¹⁾ Nevertheless, of the 204,455 Negroes fourteen years of age and over in the labor force, 55,204 or 27% of them were "seeking work" that is, persons who were without work and who desired to work. However, only 523,175 or 13.84% of the 3,779,886 whites of the same classification were seeking work. As has been indicated elsewhere, the percentage of Negro women in the labor force was 1.44 times that of native white women; it is nearly three times that of foreign-born white women. However, of those actually gainfully employed in occupations other than public emergency work, 80.9% of the native white men who were in the labor force were employed; only 61.8% of the Negro men were so classified. Although the percentage of native white women in the labor force was much smaller than that of Negro women, 83.4% of the native white women in the labor force were employed whereas only 70.4% of the Negro women were employed. A further indication of the disproportionate unemployment of Negroes is indicated by the fact that whereas only 4.9% of the native white males in the labor force were engaged in public emergency work: WPA, NYA, CCC, etc., 10.5% of the State's Negro males were so classified. For the women of the two races, the percentages

(1) The following quotation is helpful: "The labor force is defined in the 1940 census on the basis of activity during the week of March 24 to 30, and includes only persons who were at work, with a job seeking work, or on public emergency work in that week". 16th Census of the United States 1940; Population Second Series, Characteristic of the Population, Pennsylvania, P 6; United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1942.

were, 3.0% and 8.2% respectively. Hence, the fact that Negroes were seeking work in percentages which were twice as high as whites check favorably with the fact that Negroes were engaged in emergency work in percentages which were more than two times larger than native whites.

Despite the fact that the 1940 unemployment rate for Pennsylvania was greater than that of the nation, the disproportionately large unemployment rate of Negroes can be explained chiefly on racial grounds. That Negro male employment lagged very far behind on exclusion and restrictive grounds, is partly indicated by the fact that whereas only 11.1% of the experienced native white males in the labor force fourteen years and over were seeking work, the corresponding percentage for experienced Negro males was 24.3% or more than twice that of white males.

A complete analysis of the 1940 census employment data is not available. However, the volume of placements and registrations of the United States Employment Service offers the next best substitute for the census data. It is to be remembered, however, that data from the United States Employment Service, as compared with census data, is limited in that census data covers the entire labor force fourteen years and over, whereas the Employment Service data pertains more specifically to those persons registered with the Service. Since, in normal times, the vast majority of employable persons are either working or will seek placement (1) through labor unions, (2) private employment agencies, (3) the personnel departments of the respective firms, (4) newspaper advertisement, (5) through

friends and relatives, and (6) various other means, the work of the USES comprehends only a part of the employable population. Nevertheless, for the non-unionized semi-skilled fields, unskilled, domestic and personal service fields, the USES statistics is representative. However, recently, the service has increased both its representativeness and its coverage. In general, the Negro labor market is such that USES figures are more representative of Negro employment than of white.

Given this background, the USES data will be presented. Through the kindness of Mr. Roland S. Wallis and Mr. George P. Scurria, employment figures have been prepared for the Commission covering the State from January, 1938 to August, 1942. In 1938, 7,287 or 6.49% of the 112,175 persons placed were Negroes; in 1939, 8,752 or 7.57% of the 115,555 persons placed were Negroes. In 1940, 11,788 or 8.23% of the 143,216 persons placed were Negroes. During the first eight months of 1941 17,611 or 11.68% of the 150,665 persons placed were Negroes. However, from September, 1941 through February, 1942, 19,679 or 15.33% of the total 128,306 persons placed were Negroes. From March, through July, 1942, 22,893 or 16.49% of the 138,827 persons placed were Negroes. Thus Negro placements were in excess of their proportion in the total population. In 1940, Negro placements were 1.75 times their proportion in the total population; during the first eight months in 1941, Negro placements were 2.48 times their ratio in the total population. From September, 1941, through February, 1942, and from March through July, 1942, the figures were 3.26 and 3.50 respectively.

During the forty-four months, from January, 1933, through August, 1941, there were 542,151 placements; of these, 45,438 or 8.38% of them were Negroes. Thus, Negroes were placed at a rate of nearly twice their proportion in the general population. However, whereas, only 202,215 or 50.98% of the 396,713 total white placements were women, 32,718 or 72% of the 45,438 total Negro placements were women. From September, 1941, through February, 1942, whereas only 40.52% of the total white placements were female, 68.06% of the total Negro placements were female. Moreover, in the period from March through July, 1942, whereas white female placements were only 34.87% of the total white placements, Negro female placements were 63.80% of the total Negro placements. Here again are evidences that because of the occupational restrictions and exclusions of Negro men, Negro women must seek employment in much greater proportions than white women. Moreover, it is evident that white women are preferable to Negro men in the general employment field.

From January, 1938 through August, 1941, whereas 55% of the white women were placed in domestic and personal service, 97.01% of the Negro female placements were in domestic and personal service fields. It is rather astonishing to note that in this entire forty-four month period, only 50 of the 32,718 Negro female placements were skilled jobs. Perhaps what is more startling is the fact that whereas only 33.3% of the total white placements were in service fields, 78.01% of all Negro placements were so classified. In the period from September, 1941, through February, 1942, only 41.12% of the total white female

placements were in the service fields; however, 96.51% of the Negro female placements were in the service fields. From March, through July, 1942, 39.86% of the total white female placements were in the service fields; in that same period, 78.93% of the total Negro female placements were in the service fields. Thus, there is to be noted a reduction in the percentage of Negro women in the domestic and personal service fields. Later data show that this trend toward wider occupational diffusion is significant.

With reference to the period from January, 1938, through August, 1941, whereas 7.06% of the white men were placed in domestic and personal service jobs, 29.14% of the Negro men were so placed. 3.59% of the Negro men and 18.97% of the white men were placed in skilled jobs; in semi-skilled jobs the percentage of placement was 8.22 and 16.02 Negro and whites respectively; in unskilled jobs, however, the percentage was 53.82 and 45.67 for Negroes and whites respectively. Thus, during this forty-four month period from January, 1938, through August, 1941, whereas 34.99% of the white men were placed in skilled and semi-skilled jobs, only 11.81% of the Negro men were thus placed. In the period from September, 1941, through February, 1942, only 7.72% of the male white placements were in the domestic and personal service fields, 25.5% of the male Negro placements were in these fields. From March, 1942, through July, 1942, whereas 6.05% of the male white placements were in the service fields, 21.42% of the male Negro placements were in these fields.

In the period from September, 1941, through February, 1942, whereas the total Negro placements were 3.26 times their proportion in the total population, Negro placements in skilled jobs were only 1.91% of the total skilled placements; in semi-skilled and unskilled areas, Negro placements were 5.5% and 11.27% respectively of the total volume. In the period from March through July, 1942, whereas Negro placements were 3.50 times their proportion in the total population, only 1.31% of the total skilled jobs went to Negroes; 5.49% and 12.39% of the total semi-skilled and unskilled placements respectively, went to Negroes. More recent employment data show some improvement in the situation but the lack of occupational diffusion still remains a major disturbing factor in the Negro employment picture. It seems rather obvious that unless Negro workers are up-graded and are given a wider range of occupational diffusion, they may experience the same difficulties in the post-war period which characterized them before the war. On the other-hand, during these times, when the most efficient use of all labor is most urgently needed to win the war, it would seem that patriotism should be sufficient to improve matters very greatly.

Discussion with personnel representatives of business establishments, mechanics, industrialists, and vocational experts indicate that many men of both races often think that by virtue of former training or experience or both, they are thereby qualified as semi-skilled or skilled workers. However, due to technological advancement, many persons who were formerly

qualified as skilled or semi-skilled workers may not later be so classified. Some jobs have disappeared; others have been changed. Changes are due largely to technological employment. However, changes in the form of a dilution of skills are methods of meeting acute labor shortages.⁽¹⁾ Hence, re-training is often necessary for several reasons. From our knowledge of Negro employment difficulties, these conditions may adversely affect Negroes in a greater degree than whites. However, such explanations cannot and are not intended to explain the great disparity between Negro skilled and semi-skilled applicants on the one hand and white placements in semi-skilled and skilled jobs on the other.

It is obvious that even though Negroes are not prepared for as wide a range of occupations as are whites, this range is larger than most experts indicate. Moreover, Negroes are prepared by training and experience for a much wider range and a larger volume of skilled and clerical jobs than they are able to obtain in normal times. It should be said, however, that as of this date, no individual or agency actually knows what the American labor market actually is. For this reason, the following data of Table XXXV are important:

(1) Cf. "War Labor Supply Problems of Philadelphia and its Environs" by Gladys L. Palmer, June 1942, P. 28

TABLE XXXV

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NEGRO LABOR SUPPLY IN 1938 AND THE VOLUME AND DISTRIBUTION OF PLACEMENTS - USES

Occupation	Number of Registrants	% of Total Registrants	Number Placed	% of Total Placed
Service	32,102	36.62	5,376	73.77
Skilled	5,850	6.68	91	1.24
Semi-skilled	14,218	16.22	419	5.74
Unskilled	25,315	28.88	1,272	17.45
Profes. & Mgr.	1,438	1.64	50	0.68
Clerical & Sales	2,408	2.74	70	0.96
Unknown	6,320	7.21	9	0.12
	87,651	99.99	7,287	99.96

As Table XXXV indicates, in 1938, 36.62% of the total Negro registrants seeking jobs through USES were classified in the various service fields. However, 73.77% of the total Negro placements were in the service fields. In 1938, whereas, 6.68% of the Negro applicants were classified as being skilled, only 1.24% of them were placed in skilled jobs. In that same year, although 16.22% of the Negro applicants were classified as semi-skilled workers, only 5.74% of those Negroes placed by USES obtained semi-skilled employment. The fact that 28.88% of the 1938 Negro applicants were classified as unskilled and that their unskilled placements were only 17.45% is not too difficult to understand. Many of these applicants being without funds, had to take whatever jobs were available for them, chiefly domestic and personal service.

By 1940, white men had begun to earn higher wages also; an increasing number of white women were able to find employment; both of these factors increased the demand for domestic service. Hence, although only 30.87% of all 1940 USES applicants

sought employment in the service fields, 80.87% of the Negro placements were in these fields. Despite the fact that 6.67% of the Negro applicants were classified as skilled workers, only 1.04% of the total Negro placements were in skilled jobs. Only 2.77% of the total Negro placements in 1940 were in semi-skilled jobs; however, 17.74% of the applicants were classified as semi-skilled workers. 14.70% of the total 1940 Negro placements were in unskilled jobs yet, 40.65% of the Negro applicants were classified as unskilled workers. In view of the state of national emergency, it may be well to review further the USES data for the first eight months of 1941. During this period, there were 27,799 Negro applicants of whom 30.72% were classified in the domestic and personal service fields; however, 77.15% of the placements were in these fields. Although 8.10% of the Negro applicants were skilled, only 1.19% of the total Negro placements were skilled. Only 3.90% of the Negro placements were in semi-skilled jobs despite the fact that 15.66% of the Negro applicants were classified as semi-skilled. Although only 14.42% of the Negro placements were made in unskilled jobs, 39.91% of all Negro applicants were classed as unskilled workers. Unfortunately, the statistics of registrants after August 1941, is not available.

By September 1, 1941, the National Defense program had long been under way. Moreover, the President of the United States, in full knowledge of the urgent need of all of the nation's manpower, irrespective of race, creed, or color, on June 25, 1941, issued Executive Order 8802. In 1940, 24.32%

of all white placements were in manufacturing whereas only 2.95% of the Negro placements were in that field. Interestingly enough, Mr. Van Pelt's statement of actual total figures for whites and Negroes comes rather close to these data. It was observed that in 1940, 2.77% of the total employees in Pennsylvania industries were Negroes. During the first eight months of 1941, 34.20% of all white placements were in manufacturing and only 4.4% of the total Negro placements were in that field. However, this situation improved very much in 1942.

With reference to professional, managerial, clerical, and sales registrants, in 1938, there were 3,846 Negro applicants; only 120 of them were placed. During the twenty months from January 1, 1940 through August, 1941, there were 29,399 Negro placements of which 15 were in the professional and managerial fields. However, 142 of these 29,399 total Negro placements were in clerical and sales fields. Only a relatively few of these 157 placements in professional, managerial, clerical, and sales fields were in white private establishments. On the contrary, the majority of these placements represent employment in Negro establishments and in government positions. Given these 157 placements, one may desire to know if more Negroes were available in these fields. During the same twenty months in which the 157 placements were made in the professional and managerial, clerical, and sales fields, there were 1,927 applications.

As has been indicated elsewhere, the Commission has made sample studies of Negro employment. From its total returns, the staff drew a sample of 510 firms covering the period of December 9, 1940 to April 8, 1941. Of the 178,581 employees, 5,535 or 3.09% of them were Negroes. This figure was perhaps a little high for it was most likely biased in favor of those firms which hired Negroes. Moreover, the total number of schedules returned as of that date, listed the Negro's percentage of the total employment as being 2.91. Nevertheless, it should be said that those firms which did hire Negroes, did so in excess of their proportion in the total population. Another sample study in December, 1941, indicated that Negro employment was 3.13% of the total employment in the State. In February, 1942, another sample indicated Negroes as having 3.79% of the total employment; another sample in November, 1942 indicated 4.09%. No doubt another such study would reveal even higher percentages of Negro employment. The indications are that at the present writing, the volume of Negro employment is approximately in proportion to his ratio in the total population. However, this pertains to volume only. There is a great lack of occupational diffusion. Domestic and personal service, semi-skilled, and unskilled labor jobs, today, as they did in 1900, account for the vast majority of Negro unemployment opportunities.

As of July, 1942, Mr. Donald Rooney, Regional Economic Analyst, Third Region, Federal Security Agency, Social Security Board, estimated that there were 250,000 persons in the Philadelphia area employed in war industries excluding the Navy Yard,

Frankford Arsenal and other federal agencies doing war work. Of this number, there were approximately 12,000 Negroes. Had Negroes been employed in war industries according to their ratio in the city's total population, their employment would have been 32,500 instead of only 12,000. As is well known, the mean weekly income from war industry employment exceeds that received from the types of employment which the typical Negro has. In addition to holding only 36.92% of the war jobs which they should have held, according to population ratios, all indications point to the fact that in proportion to their part in the total population, Negroes are not being "up-graded" in war industries.

To some extent, the USES is responsible for the general employment status. Although at present there is much improvement, formerly one difficulty involved the classification, registering, and referral practices of the USES itself. Too often, instead of classifying and registering Negro applicants according to their occupational training, experience, etc., they registered them in terms of traditional patterns of job opportunities. Likewise, in numerous instances, when requests for workers were received, placement officers, consciously or unconsciously, either elected to refer only white workers without consulting the employer or refer Negro workers in such a manner as to jeopardize their placement. These actions on the part of numerous local officials, however, did not represent the Federal policy of the USES. Several confidential letters specifically warning against such practices have come from the

main office in Washington. One such letter was sent by Mr. Martin F. Carpenter, chief of the United States Employment Service, on April 26, 1941. However, there is official evidence, as of September 16, 1941, that a number of local managers in the State seemed not to have been aware either of the Executive Order 8802 or of Mr. Carpenter's letter ~~referred~~ to above. Howbeit, on October 10, 1941, Mr. Carpenter sent another such letter:

"To: All State Employment Security Agencies
 October 10, 1941
 Operating Policy and Procedure
 "Reiteration of Policy and Instructions to
 Insure Full Utilization of
 Local Labor Supply

"Purpose of the Letter

"In order to attain the fullest use of local labor and stimulate employer acceptance of workers and trainees who might otherwise suffer from the effects of discrimination, the Bureau deems the issuance of this letter advisable. All State employment services have ~~an~~ obligation to promote employer acceptance of workers who may be adversely affected by discrimination. This responsibility extends to all workers who, because of age or sex, or who are members of minority groups, aliens, naturalized or derivative citizens, may suffer from discrimination. The Bureau, therefore, feels it necessary to reiterate fundamental employment service referral policies that insure equitable treatment of all applicants.

"Required Policy

"Policies governing the placement process in the public employment service are set forth in State Operations Bulletin, No. 10, Part IV, The Placement Process in Public Employment Offices. Section 1053 states:

"The employment office which meets its full responsibility of community service should know jobs, job requirements, and the labor supply which affect an employer's needs. Possession of this information will enable employment office personnel to take the initiative in

aiding employers to establish their job specifications. This will be particularly true in those occupational groupings where labor shortages exist and where rigid requirements will need to be relaxed to meet the situation. If it is known that all possible sources of available or potentially available qualified workers have been checked and qualified workers cannot be found, the employer should be advised of conditions so that he can determine whether or not he will change his requirements to such an extent that an applicant can be located who meets them. It is equally true that by careful handling, specifications which have no relationship to successful performance on the job may be relaxed or changed."

"Action Necessary

"In connection with minority groups and all other persons who because of sex, age, race or nationality, may be affected by discrimination, the above policy and the President's Executive Order of June 25, 1941 reaffirming the policy of non-discrimination, should be implemented by specific action in the local employment offices as follows:

1. Register and classify minority group applicants by the same standards that are required for other applicants or trainees.
2. Acquire an understanding of employer, organized labor and community attitudes toward minority groups.
3. After efforts have been made and failed to fill an employer order according to the employer's specifications, the local office should advise employers through personal visits by an employment service representative of the possibilities of meeting his labor needs from the local labor market if his hiring policies based on age, sex, race, creed and national origin are modified.

"Reports on Lack of Employer Cooperation

"Full utilization of the local labor supply will depend upon employer hirings in accordance with employment service referral policies. Discriminatory specifications based solely on race, creed, color, national origin, age or sex, should be reported according to the following procedure, after efforts to obtain relaxation of employer's specifications have been made.

"1. When an employer fails to hire or to consider qualified members of minority groups, an immediate specific report shall be made by the local office to the State agency.

"2. If the State agency find the situation unaltered, an immediate and specific report of its action including the report of the local employment office shall be forwarded in quadruplicate to the appropriate Regional Labor Supply Officer.

"3. Upon receipt of the State agency's report, the Regional Labor Supply Officer shall, in behalf of the Bureau of Employment Security, refer the matter to the Regional Labor Supply Committee for action, transmitting two copies of the State agency's report to this Bureau.

"4. The Regional Labor Supply Officer will advise this Bureau of any action or recommendation on this report taken by the Regional Labor Supply Committee.

"This information should be transmitted immediately to all local offices. Sufficient copies of the procedure are being forwarded to each State agency for local office distribution.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) Martin F. Carpenter, Chief
U. S. Employment Service Division

There was no modification of this principle until July, 1942 when Mr. John J. Carson, Director, United States Employment Service, sent out Bulletin No. C - 45 which was a very unfortunate order, for, in effect, it negated Executive Order 8802 and the work of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice. However, this was such an obvious error that, in principle, it was recinded. At present, due to labor shortages and the increased power of the War Manpower Commission, which in a very large measure determines the policy of the United States Employment Service, the situation is much better.

In general the defects of the United States Employment Services in Pennsylvania are characteristic of the nation as a whole. No one in the nation is better prepared to make suggestions for the improvement of this service than is Mr. Lester B. Granger, Executive Secretary of the National Urban League, who, in his "Report of Progress in the War Employment of Negro Labor", July, 1942, recommends that regional and state Employment Service directors take the following steps:

"(1) In-service training courses for employment interviews to improve their competence in handling Negro applicants.

(2) The appointment of Negroes to Employment Service staffs in all types of jobs without racial restriction

(3) A more aggressive job of interpretation of Negro workers' qualifications carried on among employers and labor leaders

(4) Greater use of Negroes on state and regional staffs to assist in this interpretation

(5) Refusal to accept discriminatory job orders from employers

(6) Closer cooperation between State Employment Services and the Negro Manpower Service of the War Manpower Commission

(7) An official statement from the Director of the Federal Security Administration forbidding the handling of war job orders that discriminate against any minority group." (1)

Nevertheless, even though the misgivings of the various regional, state, and local offices of the United States Employment Service weigh disproportionately against Negro workers, they cannot be regarded as the chief cause of the present unfavorable status of Negro employment. However, it is almost criminal that Federal employees should discriminate against

citizens in this regard. Clearly, administrative procedures should be immediately set up whereby such persons would be dismissed once their guilt is determined. On the other hand, it must be recognized that except in a relatively few cases of extreme prejudice, the various employees of the United States Employment service hardly do more than reflect both the dominant attitudes and general standards of efficiency of the localities in which they are. The major difficulties of the unfavorable status of Negro labor are, therefore, involved in three interrelated factors: (1) the relatively lesser skill and experience of Negro workers, (2) discriminatory practices on the part of some employers, and (3) some employees within and outside of the ranks of organized labor.

The disadvantage of Negro youth in securing vocational education and apprenticeships have been discussed elsewhere. In the period between 1935 and 1937, Mr. Donald Wyatt at that time, Industrial and Research Secretary of the Armstrong Association, Philadelphia, supervised the WPA study of Negro skilled and white collar workers in Philadelphia. During 1940-41, Mr. Wyatt was Assistant Executive Director of the Commission; upon request he gave the staff permission to make a sample study of his files. The sample indicated that approximately one-third of the Negro white collar and skilled workers in Philadelphia obtained their training by "experience only", thereby indicating no vocational training in schools or no apprenticeship. Approximately one-fourth of them received their training by "apprenticeship and experience". Likewise, it was pointed out

that in 1941, according to the records of the Department of Public Assistance, 4.2% of the whites and 6.2% of the Negroes who were on relief and unemployable were so by reason of their "lack of training". Thus, proportionately, there were 1.47 times as many Negroes who were unemployable on account of the lack of training than whites. These are but a few of the indications of the greater lack of **general** training among Negroes than whites.

In view of the difficulties which Negroes experienced in obtaining vocational education in the public schools and also in serving apprenticeships, many Negro leaders welcomed the opportunity afforded by the various Vocational Education for National Defense, NYA, and WPA training programs. Forthwith, the Commission instructed its staff to study the effects of these programs on Negro employment trends. The first sample studies were made in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia in October and November of 1941. In Philadelphia, a door-to-door survey was made of 295 enrollees in VLND programs. 39.6% of the enrollees had moved since their enrollment in the courses; 15.5% were not at home at the time of the visit of staff members; 7.1% made no response to the ring of the door bell and 3.7% had given the incorrect address. The staff was able to fill out survey forms for 33.9% of them.

48% of the persons surveyed had completed their respective courses; 42% did not; and 10% answered the question in such a manner as to make their tabulation unsatisfactory. Of the 48% who had completed their respective courses not one of them was

employed in the job for which the given VEND course had prepared them. When those who dropped out of the courses were asked their reasons therefor, the answers were as follows: 7% dropped out because of illness; 35% because they secured jobs; 5% had conflicts between school and their job hours; 3% claimed inability to pay car fare; 2% found the work too hard; 2% were not making enough money to support their families and dropped out to look for work. 1% was laid off by WPA and 1% is finishing now. In 1% of the cases, class was discontinued, 1% was transferred to other schools without receiving a slip with the number of hours of training completed, 1% was too advanced for the course, 1% didn't like the course and 22% were dropped for absences. Others did not answer this question.

Of the 62 former trainees who were employed:

20 secured their jobs through a public agency	32.2%
1 through a private agency	1.6%
37 secured it otherwise	59.5%
3 did not answer	4.8%
1 did not know.	1.6%
62	99.7%

Since 37 of the 62 employed trainees did not receive their jobs through a public or private employment agency, it was desired to find out through what means their jobs had been obtained. The replies were:

- 13 Secured their jobs by personal or written application at the place of employment
- 21 Secured their jobs through a friend or relative
- 2 Secured their jobs by answering a newspaper advertisement
- 1 Secured their job by answering an advertisement in a shop window.

Only 6% of the former trainees were employed in semi-skilled jobs; only 8% of them were employed in skilled jobs and 38% of them were employed in unskilled jobs. When it is pointed out again that not one of them was employed in a job for which he or she was prepared by the VEND program, it becomes evident that the Negro trainees were not profiting as much as they should by these courses. The Pittsburgh sample was very much like the Philadelphia study. The results of both studies were so startling that the Commission authorized further study.

The press all over the nation ~~was~~ pointing out difficulties which colored citizens were experiencing with the VEND program. This alarm was not without basis in fact. Earl Brown and George H. Leighton summarized a great part of the difficulty in the following sentence:

"In 1941 the records of the United States Employment Service showed that only one out of every fifty Negro graduates of training schools could be placed." (1)

While things were somewhat better in Pennsylvania, the situation was very alarming. However, in spite of the importance of a more thorough observation of the VEND program, the Commission was unable to continue the study unassisted. The Executive Director worked out a mutually cooperative plan with Professor William C. Ash, Director of Vocational Teacher Education, at the University of Pennsylvania whereby Mr.

(1) Public Affairs Pamphlets, "The Negro and the War" P.14

Percival Bolen Hunt, a graduate student at the University, would continue the study. The study was to determine, among other things:

1. The extent to which Negroes were participating in the program and the comparative manner of their participation.

2. The comparative extent to which Negroes completed the courses for which they were enrolled and the reasons for their "dropping out"

3. The extent to which Negroes who completed the courses were employed in occupations for which their respective defense courses prepared them

4. What, if any, suggestions may be made to improve the effectiveness of the program so far as Negroes are concerned.

The study was made by Mr. Hunt, with the assistance of a few volunteer workers and the following staff members of the Commission: Miss Eleanor T. Hill, Mr. Richard Langston and Mrs. Naomi L. Cheatham. After a preliminary study, it was decided to make a field survey of the 1,003 trainees with the idea of obtaining both statistical and case data. The study follows:

"Table 1

"The Distribution of 1,003 Former Negro Trainees of the National Defense Training Program in Philadelphia (by occupations)

Occupation	Total Number	In Army	Moved to unknown address	Deceased	Not known at address	Unemployed	Returned to WPA	Unemployed	Correct address no information
Electricity	194	4	19	0	10	31	6	69	55
Auto Maintenance	523	5	45	1	9	34	13	127	89
Machine Shop Pr.	182	3	19	1	6	18	6	70	59
Mechanical Dr.	10	0	1	0	0	0	1	4	4
Blacksmithing	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	2
Welding (gas)	42	0	4	0	2	11	0	14	11
Welding (elect.)	47	0	2	0	2	7	6	16	14

"Table 1 continued

Occupation	Total Number	In Army	Moved to unknown address	Deceased	Not known at address	Unemployed	Return to WPA	Employed	Correct address no information
Sheet Metal	123	0	15	0	3	12	4	60	29
Detailing-Trac.	13	0	0	0	0	1	0	6	6
Coppersmithing	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Foundry Pract.	11	0	0	0	0	2	1	4	4
Shipfitting	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	0
Marine Pipe Fitt.	7	0	1	0	0	0	0	5	1
Power Mach. Op.	9	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	3
Blue Print Read.	15	0	2	0	0	1	0	8	4
Ordinance Inspect.	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Erecting-Assemb.	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	2
Jr. Instrument	4	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0
Totals	1003	12	110	2	32	122	37	403	285

ANALYSIS OF TABLE I

"The distribution reveals interesting and pertinent information. Light hundred and twenty-two, approximately 80 per cent of the Negro trainees, had been enrolled in only four occupations - electrical maintenance, auto maintenance, machine shop practice, and sheet metal. The other 20 per cent were distributed over fourteen other occupations.

"Three hundred and twenty-three, approximately one third of the total, were enrolled in auto maintenance classes.

"One hundred and ten, approximately 11 per cent, had moved to unknown addresses. The mobility of people in the lower income brackets is reflected by these figures. In attempting to trace those who had moved, it was found that some had moved at least six times since they had registered for the courses.

"Two hundred and eighty-five, approximately 28 per cent, were not contacted because all members of the family were either working or else were engaged in other pursuits that took them away from home (information obtained from neighbors). These homes were visited several

times but no positive results were obtained. No doubt, further visits might yield significant information.

"Thirty-two of the total number, approximately 3 per cent, were either not known at the given address or else had given addresses that did not exist either by street or number. Many addresses investigated turned out to be vacant lots.

"One hundred and fifty-nine, approximately 16 per cent, were unemployed, and 403, approximately 40 per cent were found to be employed.

"Since one of the objectives of the study was to determine employment status of the former trainees, the listed columns of the employed and unemployed in Table I have been broken down into the Tables II and III respectively, in order to obtain significant trends or indications.

"Table II
An Analysis of 159 not Employed (By Occupation)
(Including 37 who Returned to W. P. A.)

Occupation	Completed Course	Did Not Complete Course	Total Not Employed
Electricity	20	17	37
Auto Maintenance	21	26	47
Machine Shop Prac.	11	13	24
Mechanical Drawing	1	0	1
Blacksmithing	0	1	1
Welding (gas)	5	6	11
Welding (electric)	6	7	13
Sheet Metal	5	11	16
Detailing-Tracing	0	1	1
Coopersmithing	0	1	1
Foundry Practice	1	2	3
Shipfitting	0	0	0
Marine Pipe Fitting	0	0	0
Power Machine Op.	0	1	1
Blue Print Reading	1	0	1
Erecting-Assembling	0	0	0
Ordnance Inspection	0	0	0
Jr. Instrument	0	2	2
Totals	71	88	159

"The importance of the relationship between training and employment has profound significance in the attainment of objectives as they apply to the program. The training of individuals who are not subsequently integrated into the industrial life of the Nation has serious consequences. In view of this, it seems advisable to analyze the 403 who were found to be employed in order to secure the following information:

1. Number who were found working in the occupations for which they were trained.
2. Number who were found working in defense industries
3. Number found working at related occupations.
4. Number found working at occupations having very little or not any relation to the fields in which they were trained.
5. Number who completed the courses.
6. Number who did not complete courses.

The above information is reported in Table III.

"Table III
An Analysis of 403 Cases of Trainees Found to be Employed
(By Occupations)

Occupation	Number Complete Courses	Number Did Not Complete Courses	Working in trade Trained For	Re- lated	Other	In De- fense Job in Work Trained For	In De- fense Job not Trained For
Electricity	25	44	7	4	58	0	10
Auto Maintenance	58	69	15	32	80	2	21
Machine Prac.	28	42	8	4	58	5	13
Mech. Drawing	1	3	2	0	2	0	1
Blacksmithing	1	3	1	0	3	2	1
Welding (gas)	3	11	0	0	14	0	2
Welding (electric)	6	10	0	0	16	0	1
Sheet Metal	22	38	4	5	51	2	6
Detailing-Tracing	1	5	2	0	4	0	0
Coppersmithing	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
Foundry Prac.	2	2	0	0	4	0	0
Shipfitting	1	3	0	0	4	0	0
Marine Pipe Fitting	1	4	0	0	5	0	1
Power Mach. Op.	1	4	3	0	2	0	0
Blue Print Reading	3	5	2	0	6	0	2
Ordnance Inspect.	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
Erecting-Assemb.	0	3	0	0	3	0	0
Jr. Instrument	0	2	1	0	1	1	0
Angle smith	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	153	250	45	45	313	12	57

ANALYSIS OF TABLE III

"Forty-five, approximately 11 per cent, were employed in occupations for which they were trained. Twelve of these 45, approximately 3 per cent, were found employed in defense jobs for which they were trained.

"Forty-five, approximately 11 per cent, were employed in occupations related to the fields for which they were trained.

"Three hundred and thirteen, approximately 78 per cent of those found to be employed, were engaged in occupations other than those for which they were trained. Those individuals were found employed in diverse occupations, some of which are listed below:

- Classified and unclassified laborers
- Handy men in fruit and vegetable markets
- Bus boys in cafeterias and restaurants
- Porters in factories, drug stores, hotels,
and department stores
- Cooks
- Stevedores
- Shipping clerks
- Domestic servants
- Semi-skilled factory workers
- Time clerks
- Barbers
- Car washers and garage attendants
(Were not trained in auto maintenance)
- Laborers in the city's department of sanitation

"While a small number of trainees in various trades had found employment in the field for which they were trained, those trained in welding (gas and electric), coppersmithing, shipfitting, marine pipefitting, ordnance inspection and in erecting and assembling did not find employment in either the fields in which they were trained or in related fields.

"Defining national defense industries as those industries holding contracts from the government for the manufacture of ships, munitions, planes, guns, tanks and equipment and supplies for the needs of soldiers, sailors and marines, and defining employment in these industries as that type of work concerned directly with the production of these war materials, it will be noted from the table that of the 403 found to be employed, twelve,

approximately 3 per cent of the trainees who found employment, were found engaged in defense industries in work for which they were trained. Fifty-seven, approximately 14 per cent of those found to be employed, were working in defense industries but not in fields for which they were trained.

"Two hundred and fifty, approximately 62 per cent of the 403 found to be employed, did not finish the courses in which they enrolled while one hundred and fifty three, approximately 38 per cent, did finish the courses in which they enrolled.

"Table IV

NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF TRAINEES WHO DROPPED OUT FROM COURSES AND THOSE WHO FINISHED COURSES

Occupation	Number Who Dropped Out	Number Finished Courses	No. Not Contacted For Various Reasons	Total Number
Electricity	61	45	88	194
Auto Maintenance	95	79	149	323
Machine Practice	55	39	88	182
Mechanical Drawing	3	2	5	10
Blacksmithing	4	1	2	7
Welding (gas)	17	8	17	42
Welding (Electric)	17	12	18	47
Sheet Metal	49	27	47	123
Detailing-Tracing	6	1	6	13
Coppersmithing	2	0	0	2
Foundry Practice	4	3	4	11
Shipfitting	3	1	1	5
Marine Pipefitting	4	1	2	7
Power Machine Operation	5	1	3	9
Blue Print Reading	5	4	6	15
Ordnance Inspection	1	0	2	3
Erecting-Assembling	3	0	3	6
Jr. Instrument	4	0	0	4
Totals	338	224	441	1,003

"The large number of 'drop-outs' as indicated in Table IV shows a disproportionately high percentage. A list of the major causes for this condition has been prepared from the statements of trainees as they answered the third question on the inquiry blank.

"1. Perhaps the greatest single factor in the high percentage of 'drop-outs' was the economic factor. Many trainees had family obligations and needed jobs. When a job opportunity arose they

took it regardless of the type of work called for. This was also true to some extent of the W. P. A. trainees who found the remuneration inadequate to meet their expenses.

"2. Lack of employment opportunities in the fields for which they were being trained discouraged many and led to their dropping out.

"3. Lack of guidance in the selection of courses caused many to enroll in courses which they did not like, or which they were not prepared to pursue with profit.

"Minor causes for 'drop-outs' were:

1. Age - 'I am too old'.
2. Poor health
3. Dislike of instructor
4. Did not like night work
5. Did not understand work

ENROLLMENT OF NEGROES IN NATIONAL DEFENSE CLASSES

"In order to obtain some idea as to the number of Negroes who were participating in national defense classes, and the occupations for which they were being trained, the October 31 monthly report of the Vocational Education for National Defense (Philadelphia report) was studied for enrollment figures by occupations. Table V indicates the distribution:

"Table V

NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO TRAINEES ENROLLED IN NATIONAL DEFENSE CLASSES AS SHOWN FOR THE MONTH OF OCTOBER, 1941

OCCUPATION	Total Number Enrolled	Number of Negroes	Percentage of Negroes
1. Auto Body Reconditioning	31	3	9
2. Auto Maintenance	265	21	8
3. Blacksmithing	17	4	24
4. Blue print reading	670	2	Less than 1%
5. Detailing and tracing	142	11	5
6. Mechanical drafting	364	19	5
7. Electrical Construction	145	34	24
8. Electrical Maintenance	518	44	20
9. Electrical Switchboard Assn.	38	4	10
10. Erecting and Assembling	21	15	71
11. Foundry Practice	73	14	23
12. Instrument Inspection	20	3	15
13. Light Manufacturing	84	13	15
14. Machine Tool Operation	2376	175	7
15. Ordnance Inspection	127	1	Less than 1%

continued over

Table V - continued:		Number of Negroes	Percentage of Negroes
OCCUPATION	Total Number Enrolled		
16. Radio Communication	215	1	Less than 1%
17. Related Sewing	116	4	3
18. Related Instruction (Metal)	477	6	1
19. Related mathematics	113	1	Less than 1%
20. Sewing machine Operation	288	70	24
21 Sheet metal	1366	113	8
22. Shipfitting	235	17	5
23. Welding (gas)	353	20	6
24. Welding (electric)	622	53	3
25. Occupations listed below	1185	0	0
Total	10181	622	6%

NOT ANY NEGROES WERE LISTED IN THE FOLLOWING OCCUPATIONS:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Airplane mechanics | 12. Pattern making |
| 2. Army Cadet Corps training | 13. Precision lathe |
| 3. Clothing inspection | 14. Related auto |
| 4. Copper smithing | 15. Related electricity |
| 5. Glass blowing | 16. Related shipbuilding |
| 6. Industrial instrument | 17. Screw Machine operation |
| 7. Lens grinding | 18. Sheet metal layout |
| 8. Machine maintenance | 19. Ship mold loft work |
| 9. Marine pipe fitting | 20. Ship rigging |
| 10. Naval stenography | 21. Shipwright |
| 11. Operative hand embroidery | 22. Steam fitting |
| | 23. Shipyard storeroom |

"The 622 Negro trainees listed in this report for October represent approximately 6% of the total enrollment, which is less than half of the Negro's proportion in the total population of Philadelphia.

CONCLUSIONS

"1. Of the 1,003 Negro trainees whose given home addresses were visited in connection with this study, only 12, approximately 1.1 per cent, were found to be employed in national defense industries in occupations for which they had been trained. Fifty-seven, approximately 5.7 per cent, were found to be employed in national defense industries in occupations other than those for which they had been trained.

"2. The fact that 81 per cent of the trainees with whom contact was established has been trained in only four of the eighteen occupations offered by the V. E. N. D. Program would seem to indicate the need for a study of the factors responsible for this unbalanced distribution.

"3. The fact that 78 per cent of those found to be employed were engaged in occupations other than those for which they were trained, and that only 3 per cent were found engaged in defense industries in the field for which they were trained would seem to indicate that, despite the national emergency, Negroes are rarely employed even after they have been trained for employment by agencies financed by the Federal Government.

"4. Forty-five, approximately 11 per cent of the trainees found to be employed, were in work for which they had been trained. Twelve, only 3 per cent, were found to be employed in defense industries in occupations for which they had been trained. These facts seem to indicate that factors other than the lack of training have avoided the employment of Negroes particularly in national defense industries.

"5. The fact that 250 of the 403 employed, approximately 62 per cent of those who found employment, did not finish the course, and 153, approximately 38 per cent, did finish would seem to indicate that completion of the training is not any advantage to the Negro in securing employment.

"6. The fact that 338 of the total number of 562 who were contacted, approximately 60 per cent, did not finish the courses indicates the need for a study to determine the causes for this high mortality.

"7. The Negro represents 13 per cent of the total population of Philadelphia. Despite the fact that the Philadelphia Public School System has offered full opportunity for Negroes to enroll in national defense classes, only 6 per cent of the total number of trainees enrolled in training courses for the month of October were Negroes.

"8. The absence of Negroes in many of the training courses, and the failure of any Negroes trained in certain of the occupations to secure employment would seem to indicate the need for guidance.

RECOMMENDATIONS

"It is recommended that:

"I. Studies be made concerning the following:

1. To discover occupations in which there are employment opportunities for Negroes.
2. To discover the circumstances which make difficult or prevent the employment of Negroes in certain occupations.
3. To discover steps which may be taken to relieve the impeding circumstances. (In these studies especial attention should be given to occupations in national defense industries.)

"II. Appropriate agencies be provided to conduct the recommended studies toward the end of more efficient guidance and placement of the urban colored population."

Through the kindness of Mr. Urwin Rowntree, Chief, Industrial Education, State Department of Public Instruction, the Commission is able to present the data of Table XXXVI below which summarizes the situation for the State:

TABLE XXXVI

NEGRO PARTICIPATION IN WAR TRAINING PROGRAM - January 1, 1941 to June 30, 1942 - Pre-employment Training

	Negroes	Others	Total	% of Negroes
Trainees registered in pre-employment classes	9,640	109,863	119,503	8.06
Trainees placed in employment	642	27,313	27,955	2.29
Trainees completing courses	1,961	25,876	27,837	7.04
Trainees otherwise discontinued course	5,622	25,304	30,926	18.17
Supplementary Trainees				
Trainees registered in supplementary classes	1,451	95,879	97,330	1.49
Trainees placed in employment	29	2,982	3,011	.096
Trainees completing courses	331	34,325	34,656	.095
Trainees otherwise discontinued course	627	25,032	25,659	2.44

It will be noted that the percentage of Negro trainees is nearly twice the Negro's proportion in the total population. However, the rate of "drop outs" is approximately four times his ratio in the general population. It is encouraging to note the number of Negroes who completed their respective courses; however, only 2.29% of them were placed. It would be very interesting to know the number of Negroes who are employed in the jobs for which the given training prepared them or jobs most closely related thereto. Unfortunately, these figures are not available for the State as a whole. However, as sample studies have shown in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, only a relatively few of the Negroes placed have been given jobs for which their respective war training programs prepared them or which were closely related thereto. It should be said that since July, 1942, there has been a very favorable change. As the labor shortage becomes more acute, the situation will tend to become more favorable in this regard. The advancement of Negro labor is a most urgent need; otherwise, the typical Negro citizen will continue to be sub-marginal and marginal. It will be noted that in supplementary, as in pre-employment training, "drop outs" were very high. As has been indicated previously, there are numerous reasons for "drop outs". However, this factor will readily reduce itself to normal proportions when a sufficient number of Negroes are placed in jobs for which they are trained and are advanced thereon.

In considering the difficulties of Negroes in receiving vocational training through the public schools and apprentice-

ships, the role of organized labor was discussed. On the otherhand staff conferences with the labor leadership of some of the unions and the locals thereof which discriminate against Negroes indicated that in addition to the prevailing race prejudice against Negroes, the occasional role of the Negro as a strike breaker, and the fact that the average white worker thinks that the hiring of Negroes by management means lower wages and poorer working conditions, account for the opposition of a considerable part of organized labor to the Negro. Most of these labor leaders agree, however, that such claims are unjust and that such white workers must be properly educated along these lines. During the past decade, and especially since the war, much progress has been made in this direction. Nevertheless, most experts of both races agree that irrespective of the handicaps involved, Negro labor must become integrated into and identified with organized labor at least in proportions as are other workers. These experts point out that the importance of the Negro's relationship to organized labor is based upon the ever increasing power of organized labor and also upon the fact that proportionately, more than any other racial group, the Negro is a wage earner.

That the Negro is essentially a worker needs no proof. A brief review of the types of union contracts and their extensiveness will indicate the power of organized labor: (1) the closed shop union contract prevents an employer from hiring any but union members and forces workers to remain in the union in order to keep their jobs. (2) In the union shop, although non union

members may be employed without union consent, such workers must, after a given time, become union members; otherwise, they cannot work. (3) In the preferential shop, the management must give union members the preference in employment. Likewise, when lay-offs are necessary, this must be done according to union preference. It means that non union members will be laid off first. (4) Although management may hire whom it pleases in the exclusive bargaining shop, the union has the right to bargain for all workers irrespective of their union or non union affiliation. (5) The maintenance of membership shop permits the management to employ whomever it desires and does not force a given worker to join the union. However, the union has the legal right to solicit memberships and once a member joins, he must remain a member; otherwise, the employer must discharge him. (6) The bargaining for members only shop is the one which some people feel is the most democratic but labor leadership is often quick to point out that this is the weakest type of organized labor contract.

Although all of the unions and locals in the clothing, construction, shoe, and printing fields are not closed shop, the closed shop type dominates in these fields. Howbeit, so far as the courts are concerned, the legality of the closed shop seems to be in doubt. For instance, up to January, 1942, the courts in some twenty-four states had given decisions upholding and outlawing them. In fourteen states, closed shops are upheld; in ten others, Pennsylvania included, they were held, in effect, to be illegal. Nevertheless, the National

Labor Relations Act allows the closed shop agreement. On the contrary, the Railway Labor Act seems to prohibit the closed shop in that it forbids carriers to force their employees to join unions. Be this as it may, so far as Negroes are concerned, some of the unions and locals in the closed shop field seem to be fair toward Negroes. Numerous clothing and construction locals may be cited as examples. On the other hand, the locals in the printing fields, are, in general, guilty of discrimination.

The union shop is often characterized by the United Mine Workers. This international union and its many locals must be commended for fairness toward Negroes. They have many Negro organizers who are a credit both to the union and to organized labor. Although Negroes do not fare as well in the exclusive bargaining shops, there are a number of locals especially in the steel locals in which Negroes are making rapid strides. This is very significant since the steel locals cover such a large number of Negro workers in the State.

Irrespective of the merits of the different types of union contracts, it is evident that in view of the fact that in only one of the six types of contracts is the management even theoretically free to hire, bargain with, retain, and advance non union labor without union consent, the Negro has no choice except to seek to become a part of organized labor. On the other hand, it is equally evident that it is the duty of the State to enact and enforce legislation which will prohibit any local from discriminating against any wage earner on account of

race, creed, color, or national origin. Consequently, that legal judgement is repugnant to the Federal constitution which holds that a labor union is exclusively a private agency having the unrestricted power to determine the eligibility of its members. Likewise, those courts are equally in error which hold that labor unions are private agencies and as such the courts have no jurisdiction over their rules governing the eligibility for memberships. Clearly, since the Wagner Act specifically forces management to recognize as legal and enforceable by order of the courts, types of union contracts in which (a) only union members can be hired, (b) in which workers must join the union after being hired, (c) in which union men must be given preference in hiring, and (d) in which the union bargains for all workers, a labor union must be quasi-public agency. Otherwise, the government will be enforcing a contract in which one party thereto has the right to discriminate against eligible workers in a manner which is detrimental to the other party thereof. Moreover, the subject of discrimination is extraneous to the legitimate essentials of the considerations contracted for, namely, LABOR AND COMPENSATION therefor. Clearly, ~~even if~~ two contracting parties were desirous so to do, they could not enter into a contract which infringes upon the inalienable rights of other citizens for equal work opportunity. Further, be it remembered, that since, at least in part, the Federal government administers, or supervises in a quasi administrative-judicial manner, the National Labor Relations Act chiefly through the National Labor Relations Board, it is there-

fore incumbent upon the Federal government to (1) prohibit discrimination against contracting parties and also (2) to provide equal protection under the law by prohibiting discrimination against persons who are eligible to contract but who may be denied the exercise of their right of contract by reason of race, creed, color, or national origin.

Admitting that organized labor is a very potent factor in the status of Negro employment, how has it worked out? It is reliably estimated that only nineteen of the more than two hundred national and international unions exclude Negroes by their constitutions or rituals. Although some of these unions are independent, ten of them are said to be AFL unions. No national or international CIO unions excludes Negroes by constitutional and ritualistic methods. The organization of the CIO is such that it is stronger centrally and can oppose discrimination somewhat better than the AFL. In numerous instances through the State and nation, Negroes have got redress by appealing to the given international officers of the CIO union or locals in which discrimination has occurred. Likewise, it is generally profitable to appeal to the central AFL body and also to the international officers of the given AFL union whose locals have discriminated against Negroes. Thus, from a practical point of view, whether AFL, or CIO, etc., excepting these unions which exclude Negroes constitutionally or ritualistically, the matter resolves itself into the dominant attitude of a given local. For instance, a given local of a union may exclude Negroes entirely; another local, of the same

union, may admit Negroes and elect them to positions of influence and responsibility; still a third local, of the same union, may admit Negroes but restrict them in any number of ways.

Unions and their respective locals may discriminate against Negroes in many ways. Only a few of them need be listed here.

(1) Some unions, as has been pointed out, discriminate against Negroes constitutionally and ritualistically. (2) Some locals deny that they discriminate against Negroes but refuse every Negro applicant, many of whom seem to have every qualification for membership except that of being white. (3) Other locals select only a few Negro members from a very large number of qualified Negro applicants. This type of theoretical admission but practical exclusion is often called "token" admission. (4) Other locals, often under pressure, issue competent Negroes temporary work permits on a quota basis which is somewhat proportional to the Negro's part in the total population. (5) Other locals organize or urge the organization of auxiliary Negro units whose members do not have the right to vote in the parent local but who pay the given parent local for the right to work and for whatever other privileges the parent local may desire to give them. (6) Some locals permit Negroes to work without giving them temporary work permits or without recognizing auxiliary Negro auxiliary units. They simply have no record of the presence of Negro workers. In such cases, however, the proof of the discrimination lies both in terms of the given type of contract which the ~~given~~ specific local may

have as well as in the fact that the workers of no other race are treated as though they did not exist. (7) Other unions admit Negroes to full membership but discriminate against them in various ways ranging from practically excluding them from employment to partial and limited employment. In such instances, shop stewards, business agents, and members of the given local may be involved. Instances are reported in which labor leadership and management cooperated in the exclusion and restriction of Negro workers.

The approximately sixty locals in Philadelphia illustrate the above categories very well. Some of the Philadelphia unions and their respective locals having Negro members are: the International Ladies Garment and Waists and Dressmakers Union; the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Filling Station, Garage and Parking Lot Employees Union; Moulders Union; Wood-Wire-Metal Union; Cooper-smith's Union; the International Longshoremen's Association; Bakery and Confectionary Workers; Laborers and Hoof Carriers' Union; Carpenters and Joiners Union; Bricklayers, Carpenters, Plasters and Painters Unions; the Knitgoods Union; the Wharf and Dock Builders Union; Laundry Workers, Hotel, Club and Institutional Employees Union; the National Maritime Union; the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union and the Teachers Union. In addition to the above, Negroes held comparatively large memberships in the several tobacco, canned foods, teamsters, and restaurant locals. These locals represent independent, AFL, and CIO unions. Some of these

locals should be cited for their exemplary attitudes toward democracy in organized labor and democracy in American life. The local teachers union, the National Maritime union, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, constitute five instances in which locals and their leaders fight race prejudice by precept and example. To be sure, there are several others which, in varying degrees, are to be commended. On the other hand, there are at least a score of important locals which are guilty of gross discrimination.

In Pittsburgh, the CIO dominates the production field. Although there is still much progress to be made, CIO leadership is definitely opposed to discrimination. Their success in this regard illustrates what organized labor everywhere can do if once it is determined to develop democratic attitudes and practices in organized labor. Thus, on the whole, Negroes are making considerable progress in the production field in Pittsburgh. The AFL dominates the construction field in Pittsburgh. Here, there are several examples of fairness and of discrimination. However, discrimination does not always mean that Negroes are excluded from employment. On the whole, the Negro in Pittsburgh has made considerable progress in organized labor in the Pittsburgh area during recent years. In general, what has been said of the metropolitan areas of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, is characteristic of the State so far as Negro labor is concerned.

In summary, the Commission finds that in spite of many examples of discrimination, there are many unions and scores of locals thereof which accept Negro membership, solicit Negro membership, and elect Negro members to positions of trust and honor. In addition thereto, there are numerous examples in which organized labor has demanded justice for the Negro both within and outside of organized labor. What is more, there are thousands of white workers throughout the State who are willing to promote equal job opportunity for Negro labor. This constructive and democratic side of organized labor needs greatly to be magnified. Clearly, the situation offers an opportunity for Negro and white leadership within and outside of organized labor. As has been indicated, organized labor has some of the most able leadership in the Negro race. This leadership must be encouraged, by the entire Negro community, in its efforts to solicit the interest of a much larger number of Negroes in the organized labor movement. It must also indicate a larger number of Negroes to become qualified in a wider range of skills. On the other side of the picture, interracial leadership must encourage a larger number of locals to accept Negro members, solicit Negro membership, to promote and elect them to positions of trust and honor. These locals should inform their respective employees that they desire to see Negro workers employed and up-graded in accordance with their abilities. Moreover, it will be very strategic if such decisions are widely publicized in both the Negro and white press. Such decisions will be vastly more important if these

locals can, in the same announcement, show that they have Negro shop stewards, business agents, Negro members on their bargaining committees, grievance committees, metropolitan and regional councils and other positions of influence and responsibility. As has been indicated, there are a few locals in the State which can go all the way in this program; there are scores of them which can take several of these decisive steps. Here is a challenge for Negro leadership. This is a positive constructive, and creative program. It is what every American likes; it is ennobling. On the other hand, since organized labor determines the status of the American wage earner, Negro and white leadership, both within and outside of organized labor, should urge the enactment and enforcement of legislation which prohibits any form of discrimination on account of class, race, color, creed, or national origin.

The role of the employer in the status of Negro labor has been discussed in part elsewhere. It was inferred that management was only partly responsible for (1) technological unemployment, (2) the unemployment of technology and the depression, (3) the lesser skill of the Negro, and (4) his comparatively unfavorable length-of-service record. (5) Moreover, management's slogan of maximum production at the lowest cost applies, in principle to all business establishments and all labor irrespective of race. Further, admitting that certain parts of this competitive system need modification, wage earners, financiers, and consumers as well as management and employers must be involved in the necessary changes. It must be

remembered that in terms of profit, quality, volume, and variety of goods, and saleable services, maximum production at the lowest cost brings most benefits to consumers of whom wage earners are by far the greater part.

Therefore, so far as the unfavorable status of Negro labor is concerned, management is responsible only to the extent to which it has failed to adhere unswervingly to those principles and qualities in the labor force in which it can have a legitimate employable interest. Too often, against both its own interest as well as those of Negroes, management and employers have failed to keep this factor in mind. With reference to the labor force, the legitimate interests of management are the competitive production, transportation, and sale of goods and services. Thus, since in general, management agrees that Negro labor is capable, each Negro worker should be dealt with on the same basis as are the workers of other races. Aside from the unreasonable prejudices of a comparatively few employers, the two most serious handicaps to equal employment opportunities for Negroes are two greatly over estimated and often non-existent fears: (1) that Negroes and whites cannot work together harmoniously and on equal terms, and (2) that the public will react unfavorably to equal employment opportunities for Negroes.

Everywhere there is ample evidence of the fact that Negro and white workers can and do work together harmoniously. It is rather certain, however, that if the Negro is to be given equal employment opportunity, American management must be

wise and courageous. But these requirements do not exhaust the genius of American production; it has wrought miracles. The magnitude and difficulty of the problems involved are minor as compared with other problems solved daily by American management. Moreover, it is good business to insist upon fairness to all workers for it would (1) bring into the labor force many Negro workers and members of other minority groups and (2) enable management to make the most efficient use of its labor. Clearly, any other point of view is both wasteful and unjust. Above all, it is the patriotic duty of American management to help integrate the Negro into the labor force with equal opportunity for advancement. This responsibility is inescapable.

Management itself is a profession; moreover, employees have always recognized that the human factors of production, transportation, and commerce are more important than their technological and financial factors. No one could be suspected of thinking that human labor is of less value than machines, goods, and profits. Hence, there are no new factors in the equation. For some employers, the factors merely need to be given their correct values. The great body of experience developed by these business establishments which have made much progress in integrating the Negro into the American labor force is available to those who desire to use it. In addition thereto, the National Urban League of New York City has spent decades in building a vast body of experience and techniques of integrating Negro workers into the American labor force.

This organization is always happy to render services free of cost to those desiring them. Many local branches of the United States Employment Service, the various War Manpower Commission offices, and the FEPC have also a wealth of experience in this regard. Most employers will profit by reading "How Management Can Integrate Negroes in War Industries", prepared by Mr. John A. Davis for the Committee on Discrimination in Employment of the New York State War Council. The pamphlet is excellently written and covers briefly all major problems which confront management relative to Negro labor in war production.

In the following principles, suggested by Mr. Franklin O. Nichols, Industrial Relations Field Secretary of the National Urban League are most timely:

"Certain principles have been shown by experience to be sound guides in the use of colored workers. These are as follows:

1. They should be employed in accordance with American standards of living and with due regard for their self-respect.

2. They should not be employed as a threat to the interests of white workers - i.e., to lower wage levels, to serve as strikebreakers to block union organization of a plant.

3. Judgment of the efficiency and competence of colored workers should not be based on experience in using merely a few of them.

4. They should, if feasible, be introduced along with other workers when a plant is just opened or is expanding, and both white and colored employees should be permitted to progress in their jobs together.

5. When colored personnel workers are employed, their main concerns should be selection, morale and efficiency. Under no circumstances should they be drawn into controversial situations that might develop between the employer and organized labor. For example, colored personnel employees have reportedly been used to dissuade colored workers from joining unions. The result of such a practice is bound to be resentment,

disorganization, and conflict between both races.

6. Employers would do well to keep in touch with some responsible and experienced agencies dealing with race relations problems within the community. They will prove helpful in recruiting competent colored workers.

7. In common with other employees, colored workers are the object of labor organizational drives. Their participation in constructive labor activities or their membership in local unions should not be considered a measure of their appreciation or loyalty any more than is the case with other workers.

8. They should receive the same opportunities for training and upgrading as other workers.

9. There should be no differential in wages based on color."

As has been pointed out, public opinion is often more tolerant than many employers seem to think. The American sense of fairness must not be underestimated. Here again, the genius and courage of American management must assert themselves. From a practical point of view, management has little to fear from public opinion regarding the possibility of unfavorable reaction to Negro employment. To begin with, public opinion is, in a very large measure, composed of wage earners and management. Moreover, management is very influential in the control of those agencies which create and maintain public opinion. Therefore, given the weighted mass volume of labor and the influence of management, the American sense of fairness, and the war aims of the United Nations, public opinion should be the very medium whereby fairness toward Negro labor will be created and maintained.

Just as organized labor has been asked to solicit the membership of Negroes in much larger numbers, integrate and advance them in accordance with their competence, so should management be asked to include more Negroes in its personnel. If this is done equitably, it would be most fortunate. It would match liberal labor leadership and do much to prove that management's chief interest in any and all labor is the competitive production, transportation, and sale of goods. In numerous instances, management is making progress along these lines. However, like labor, it still has much to do in this regard. This is the constructive side of American management.

On the other hand, the same proposed law which forbids labor organizations from discriminating against persons on account of race, class, creed, or color, should likewise prohibit employers from so discriminating. So long as the law equally binds both parties, there should be little opposition. New York and New Jersey have such laws as they pertain to public employment and war production. Pennsylvania will do well to follow their examples. In the meantime, leadership in both races must seize every opportunity to promote the integration process through the most positive, constructive, and creative procedures suggested above.

Your Commission was authorized "to examine, report upon, and recommend measures to improve the economic * * conditions of the colored urban population of the State". Hence, the Commission was not charged with the responsibility of obtaining jobs for Negroes. Nevertheless, the techniques of examining

and reporting had to be conceived and conducted so that the Commission would be "within the law" and at the same time obtain the most valid evidence upon which to base its recommendations. Theoretically, this meant (1) examining and reporting in such a manner as to evaluate regularly used employment practices, (2) experimenting with new ones, and (3) examining other aspects of the Negro-labor market. However, a most important by-product of these efforts was to get scores of jobs for Negroes. Often, new jobs were obtained in establishments which had not previously employed Negroes. Moreover, some "up-grading" was accomplished. It is understood, however, that no jobs were created for Negroes, they merely filled vacancies which existed or were merely given their due promotion.

In Pittsburgh, the experimental work was done by the Assistant Executive Director of the Commission who had the benefit and cooperation of the Industrial Research Department of the Pittsburgh Urban League which is nationally known to be one of the best of its kind in the nation.

In Philadelphia, a committee of leading citizens of both races representing various occupations and interests were invited to do the experimental work in unofficial capacity for the Commission. The Committee was known as the "Job Adjustment Committee". Its efforts covered the various public training programs: VLND, and its successor, the War Production Training Program, WPA, NYA, and those conducted by Federal government agencies themselves in which trainees were selected through civil service. As one letter indicates, some attention

was paid to private educational institutions on the various levels of instruction. Likewise, the pre-production and training within Industry programs of private firms were observed. So far as possible, "up-grading" problems were covered.

The Report of the Job Adjustment Committee was written by its very able, fearless, untiring, and patriotic Chairman: Dr. John H. Brodhead, Principal of the Arnold School, Philadelphia:

"Summary of the Work of the Job
Adjustment Committee

"The announcement of a vast employment expansion in governmental agencies and the birth of the President's Executive Order 8802 which was designed specifically to integrate the Negro and all minority groups of Americans in our total war effort, served as stimuli for social action committees everywhere throughout the country. In Philadelphia, the Job Adjustment Committee was organized.

"This committee, interracial in its makeup, and representing a cross-section of our population had three chief objectives: To insure the adequate representation of Negroes in labor and industry; the sifting out of potential cases of discrimination for the economy of time, money, and energy of the FEPC; and the adjustment of all differences in employer-employee, union-employee, or union-employer relationships involving Negroes in governmental agencies. Later, these objectives were extended to private industry.

"The types of discrimination practiced were many and varied; but there was that common denominator of similarity in almost all of them. The governmental agencies showed prejudice most frequently in: (1) their rejections of qualified Negroes by the interviewers; (2) their prejudice against clerical workers; (3) failure of Civil Service to make referrals of Negroes or the neglect of an agency to send a candidate's name back to Civil Service within a reasonable time; (4)

failure to upgrade Negro workers, and (5) the frequent firing of Negroes 'with prejudice'.

"In industry and war training classes, the Negro woman received the brunt of race bias. Hiring officers were allowed to enter training classes and on the floor to select the workers he needed; the Negro trainee was seldom, if ever, selected. In training classes, there were two Negro teachers among eight hundred; and they both were released for flimsy reasons. Industry refused to hire Negroes in skilled jobs regardless of training and qualifications. The employment picture is brighter now because the bottom of the labor market is being reached; but, even now after one year of war, the number of Negroes working at skilled trades in industry is almost negligible.

"Each case of discrimination was a story rather than data for statistical records. The techniques employed were of many different types. In some individual cases, every type of technique known to us had to be employed. Some of the approaches to these problems were : personal conferences with the aggrieved worker or with the employer or chief governmental personnel officer; letter writing with persistent follow-ups; telephonic contacts with everybody concerned; advice to a dissatisfied worker; counselling service; publicity of most stubborn cases in the daily press; and the referral of cases to the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

"As a result of our work, we make the following observations:

1. That a continuing state agency be at work along these lines in the post-war period to see to it that the Negro is continued in industry and is not the first one fired when peace comes
2. That the state make a special appropriation for the continuance of the preparation of youth and adults in the vocational skills that are labeled 'essential'
3. That Negroes be appointed to the state Labor Board so that they might be able to do something for Negroes in the apprentice field which will surely be more active in peace times; and that Negroes might be properly interpreted to employers and the unions

4. That an interracial State Fair Employment Practice Committee be organized with power to effect the integration of all minority groups in the post war period.

5. That more careful supervision be exercised over State Employment Offices to the end that Negroes receive referrals on every order.

6. The adjustments we have effected by personal conferences impel us to urge the establishment of a dynamic Public Relations Secretary or assign several persons to that particular task in behalf of Negroes.

"Since each case handled is a 'story' rather than statistical data, some of the letters received from the beneficiaries of our labors, are included with this report:"

The following letters are self-explanatory:

" * * * I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your valuable time and effort spent in my behalf, which resulted in my obtaining the position of Junior Procurement Inspector Trainee at Drexel Institute of Technology.

"I realize what a hard up-hill battle you must have had in view of Drexel's policy concerning Negroes. Therefore, I stand in readiness to lend any further effort to you and your committee in their fight to create new opportunities for the Colored American.

"Wishing you and your committee further success in their patriotic efforts, I remain

* * * * *

"My sister, Mrs. S. called you in regard to my Civil Service appointment. I took the examinations May 20, 1942 for junior clerk. I received a call to come for an interview June 7th. When I arrived I was told that there were no vacancies but that I would be called as soon as possible. On July 8th I received a telegram asking me to come immediately and this time I was told the same thing. My rating on the examination was 90.

"I would like to know if anything could be done so that I could get the appointment, as I feel that I am capable of the position?"

"I wish to take this opportunity to thank your committee for being instrumental in securing me an appointment at the U. S. Army Signal Corps.

"On January 14, 1942, my name was placed on the eligible list as Junior Typist, as a result of my having passed successfully a Civil Service Examination. Despite the fact that the need for typist is very great, my name remained on the eligible list eight months, during which time I had five referrals to various government agencies, but still no appointment.

"After all my own efforts were frustrated, on September 15, 1942, I decided to let your Committee handle my case. As a result of their fine work, I am now working in the capacity of Junior Clerk-Typist at the Signal Depot.

"Thank you again for your splendid cooperation."

In addition to the types of activity indicated in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, as has been stated elsewhere, numerous conferences with labor leaders and scores of Negro and white workers both within and outside of the ranks of organized labor, the staff observed the employment practices and techniques of various professional employees in the following United States Employment Service offices: Harrisburg, Norristown, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Reading, Wilkes-Barre, Scranton, and Chester. Some of these results have been given above. Numerous conferences have been held with personnel officers of large establishments holding war contracts. The placement procedures of several of the larger private placement agencies through newspapers, and the radio were examined. Likewise, as has been indicated, Negroes have been asked to enumerate the agencies and sources through which they received their jobs.

Finally, realizing that all of the above agencies and

organizations and individuals are influenced by as well as help to constitute public opinion, an experimental program of community organization and mobilization was inaugurated. The main idea was to use the Negro and white press, the radio, public schools and educational institutions as a means of informing the public about the status of Negro employment in a manner as to influence favorable action in this regard.

Conferences involving fact findings were held at Cheyney, Pittsburgh, and Harrisburg. Staff members and others interested in the Commission's program participated in conferences, mass meetings, and delivered a number of addresses all of which were designed not merely to report upon conditions but for the purpose of influencing democratic social action. Upon request, the staff gave suggestions to numerous employers and others who had problems regarding Negro labor. These firms were most often advised to employ competent Negroes in their personnel departments. Some few public and private establishments have already done so with much success. The techniques developed by nationally known experts covering the whole field of employment have been observed. Conferences have been held in New York and Washington with leaders in this field. The results of these efforts have been given in part in various sections of this report. Other results are indicated in the Conclusions and Recommendations.

Regarding the findings and suggestions of all these efforts, they could not be better epitomized than is stated in the following quotation from a PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLET,

INTERRACIAL CONTACTS AND CIVIL RIGHTS

The history of the Negro in Pennsylvania began with his position as that of a slave whose master was white. This relationship, combined with differences in race and cultural background, gave rise to a caste system which thereby developed in theory and practice, the separation, limitation, circumscription and segregation of Negroes in every area of life.

Colonial Christianity recognized the necessity of converting both slave and free Negroes. However, when Negroes went to church, they were generally segregated. Often, they did not sit with whites, they went to the altar at different times and did not take Holy Communion together. Thus, the Christian Church, whose special mission is to proclaim the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man was persistent in promoting racial discrimination. Because of these discriminatory practices Richard Allen and Absalom Jones organized separate Negro churches. As time passed, the Negro church developed more and more into an all-Negro affair. Today with a very few exceptions, Negroes are generally members of and attend all-Negro churches. As a rule, when more than two or three Negroes attend a church whose pastor and congregation are white, they are most often referred to a colored congregation of the same denomination; if there is no Negro congregation, they are often advised to become members of Negro congregations belonging to other denominations. However, in instances where there are only a few Negroes, say from one to three families who are Episcopalian, such Negroes often worship with or become members of congre-

and white Baptists. By and large, it is safe to say that among the clergy and laity of the Church there is hardly more interracial fellowship on the basis of equality and brotherhood than there is in any other major area of activity.

The lack of regular contact between these Christian brethren and what it typifies, have led to many differences between the Negro Christian Church and the white Christian Church. There has been a difference in the sermon, services, program, music, and the emotional reactions of the worshippers. For decades, many people have thought of "shouting" as being typical of Negro churches. It is well known that "shouting" and similar emotional releases are characteristic of unlettered peoples. Today, except in the Holiness and Sanctified Churches, and some other congregations of the more unlettered type, "shouting" is atypical of Negro churches. It occurs with no more frequency in churches attended by intelligent Negroes than it does in white churches whose congregations are of a similar intellectual status. Next, the Negro church is located in a mixed or all-Negro neighborhood; and hence, reflects its surroundings. Negro church property represents a much larger proportion of total Negro wealth than is correspondingly true of whites.

At a time when whites were developing good public schools, and gradually freeing their private schools from denominationalism, the Negro church developed private schools as a means of educating their own children. Negro churches in Pennsylvania founded, advocated, and promoted "sick benefit societies" as a

means of caring for their sick. Most congregations had various charitable clubs and "sick" visiting clubs. Other types of welfare work have been sponsored regularly. Negro churches organized and supported building and loan associations as a means of encouraging Negro home ownership at a time when only a very few white congregations were so doing. Negro churches, largely because they were best suited for the necessity, were the places in which mass meetings were held. White churches were likewise used but not with as great a frequency because there were many other places which were more suitable for whites. Today, as in former times, the Negro church building is used more than any other place for lectures, concerts, musical contests, and other intellectual and artistic gatherings. Although not as much as in former years, the Negro church is a center of social activity. They are also places in which political campaigns are conducted. Most of the other activities have been generally good and were organized, promoted, or tolerated largely because of the lack of their development elsewhere. Truly, the Negro church has been the backbone of the race's progress. Most unfortunately, the political activities of the Negro church have, on the whole, been more harmful than otherwise.

In summary, it is evident that in terms of membership, clergy, official management, and program, there has long been a vast difference between typical Negro and white churches. Although many of these differences are disappearing, there is little progress in the main area of the Christian fellowship.

For a long period, it was illegal for Negroes to be taught; later, when their education became legal, there were generally separate and distinct schools for Negroes. The "charity schools" established by the Friends, were established for Negro pupils although a few white children did occasionally attend some of these schools as long as they had mixed faculties. Gradually, the teaching personnel became all-Negro. Many of the Friends were sincere in their belief that separate institutions were desirable in that they afforded an opportunity for Negro leadership. The schools operated by Negroes had an entirely colored constituency. Thus, from the beginning of Negro education in 1740 until 1881, in general, there were separate educational systems for the two races. Today, despite a number of restrictions, there are numerous wholesale contacts between the two races. In Chester, Dauphin, Delaware, Montgomery, Philadelphia, York, and Washington Counties, there are all-Negro schools. In some of these counties, there are schools in which a Negro teacher has all of the Negro pupils in one room but has no white pupils.

In certain mixed elementary schools it has been observed that during recess, children tend to separate and play along racial lines. Other differences have been noted. However, none of these difficulties are so serious that they could not be improved immediately and satisfactorily. In the junior and senior high schools, with the exception of purely social activities, there are frequent contacts between students. Classroom activities, athletic, and other co-curricular activities afford

many contacts between the pupils of the two races. Nevertheless, as we have seen elsewhere, there are sufficient undemocratic policies and practices in the school system to identify it as having restrictions and exclusions.

As has been pointed out, there has been and still is either on both physical and psychological segregation in housing. Because of sub-standard income, the pattern of residential segregation with its consequent artificial housing scarcity, admitting a few exceptions, Negroes are forced to occupy the more blighted and deteriorated areas and the most sub-standard dwellings of any neighborhood in which they live. As compared with other citizens, Negro occupied dwellings are not in good condition, they are old, damp, either difficult or expensive to heat, poorly lighted, poorly ventilated, overcrowded, inadequately serviced with bathing and toilet facilities, are below standard in the quantity and quality of modern conveniences, and cost more to occupy. As compared with other neighborhoods, the typical Negro neighborhood constitutes greater fire and health hazards; its recreational facilities are more inadequate; it is inadequately policed; it is more noisy and dirty.

What about the sphere of economics? The present unfavorable economic status of the Negro in Pennsylvania arises out of more than two centuries of circumscription, separation, and discrimination which have always exceeded that of the general population of any other element thereof. Although there have been many individual examples to the contrary, as compared with the

general population, Negroes have been deprived of their share of skilled, supervisory, managerial, professional, governmental, industrial, commercial, and financial means of earning a living. First, proportionately, more than other citizens, Negroes are wage earners. Second, as a wage earner, he is disproportionately concentrated in the most unremunerative and insecure occupations. In brief, the income of the typical Negro is sub-standard. Nevertheless, marginal and sub-marginal living obtain in spite of Herculean efforts to overcome this evil. In 1940, after a decade of depression and recession, 6.5% of the State's male urban Negro population, fourteen years of age and over, was classified as "employers and own account workers";⁽¹⁾ only 10.4% of the male native white population of the State was so classified. For the women of the two corresponding groups, the percentages were 5.6 and 4.5 respectively for Negro and white. Hence, in spite of the numerous disadvantages of the Negro, the male native white urban citizen exceeds him only by 1.6 times in business and professional enterprises. This is heroic. Aside from the loyalty of the Negro citizen to his country, this is perhaps the highest tribute which can be paid to him.

(1) The following definition will be helpful: "Employers and own account workers, Persons operating their own business enterprises. This class includes not only the owner-operators of large stores and manufacturing establishments, but also small merchants, independent craftsmen, farmers, professional men, and other persons conducting enterprises of their own." Population, Second Series, Characteristics of the Population, Pennsylvania", 16th Census, 1940, U.S. Government Printing Office, P. 6.

The dark side of this picture is that Negro business is restricted and, with the exception of catering, is too much confined to Negro patronage. Since Negro enterprises attract only a fraction of the total volume of money expended by the Negro population, it follows that Negro business establishments are rather small; a plurality of them are owner-operated. In other words, although the number of Negro business establishments is rather favorable, the volume of Negro business and the profits therefrom are exceedingly small. Even so, credit bureaus, bank officials, wholesale dealers, State banking and insurance officials indicate that a considerable number of these enterprises are sound and reliable. The Berean Savings and Loan Association, founded by Matthew Anderson, as compared with scores of such business establishments in the State is small but sound and strong. Banking authorities have informed a staff member that the same thing can be said of the Citizens and Southern Bank and Trust Company of Philadelphia of which Major R. R. Wright is President. In review, Negro business and professional establishments, although energetic, suffer, in the main, from the same types of restrictions and exclusions which characterize discrimination in other fields.

Here and there, a Negro lawyer gets a white client but for the most part, Negro lawyers earn their living among Negroes. The positions which they secure through politics are most often because of their representation of and identification with Negroes. In some communities, Negro physicians and dentists have a considerable amount of practice among whites, chiefly

among the foreign-born. However, in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, most of the patients of Negro physicians and dentists are colored. Nevertheless, taking the State as a whole, whites patronize the Negro medical profession in greater volume than all other professions combined.

Democratic and Christian sympathies have provided a considerable group of white friends of the Negro. Some few of them have been Christian friends of Justice rather than of the Negro per se. These persons have expended millions of dollars, and immeasurable energy in philanthropic efforts to aid Negro educational, religious, and charitable institutions. For these efforts, there is but praise. These persons are still beloved by thousands of Negroes. Nevertheless, the experience of the past philanthropy is that it was inadequate. Furthermore, it treated symptoms but not the disease. Unfortunately, in former years, many friends of the Negro found it far easier to give millions of dollars and life services to Negro educational, religious, and welfare institutions than to help give him equal job opportunity. Today, these friends are still needed but they must place their major emphasis upon economic and political justice. Such groups may well have as their slogan that of the National Urban League: "Not alms but opportunity". They should help convince the public that Negro labor and professional services must be permitted to enter the American labor market on equal terms with those of other Americans. In proportion as this type of philanthropy is successful, just so shall the Negro cease to be a special problem. He will become a major

contributor to various community chests rather than a recipient of philanthropy. He will, then, pay the State more taxes than he receives tax-supported services. Until there is economic freedom and justice, many other injustices will continue to exist. The Negro should not need charity; he needs equal job opportunity. He should not need special pity; he needs democracy, and Christian brotherhood.

Separation, restrictions, and exclusions in church, school, philanthropy and in the area of economics had their counterpart in the State. As has been pointed out, discriminatory legislation began in Philadelphia in 1693, in the colony in 1700; the "Black Code" was enacted in 1725-26. In general, during the Colonial period and until 1780, when slavery was abolished in Pennsylvania, the law made a distinction between slave and free Negroes; between a slave and a white servant of the limited debtor slave class; and between a slave and all white persons of the non-servant class. There were also various regulations regarding free Negroes and other inhabitants of Pennsylvania. In general, Negroes, whether slaves or free, were restricted in their liberties and were given different penalties from whites who committed the same offense. These laws had the effect of a black and a white legal code within the same geographical boundaries.

In 1780, laws giving Negroes civil rights began to be enacted in Pennsylvania. This first law repealed was that legislated in colonial days providing for separate trial courts for Negroes and allowing them no provisions for civil suit.

Nevertheless, when taken as a group, these laws failed to give the Negro full citizenship. However, Pennsylvania Negroes, especially those of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, began to fight for equal rights in the State and also encourage and assist Negroes in other non-slave holding states to fight for equal rights. Resolutions pointing out the numerous unfair and unconstitutional laws throughout the country were drawn up; and delegates were urged to memorialize the proper authorities whenever they felt their race unjustly treated. The Fifth Annual Convention was held from June 1 to June 5, 1835, at Wesley Church in Philadelphia. This convention emphasized the need of securing favorable public opinion as a means of obtaining justice.

Negro conventions, abolition societies, and the Underground Railroad had their counterpart in organized opposition to Negroes. In addition to frequent riots throughout the State, often special legislation was attempted. In 1837, approximately eighty leading Negroes of Pittsburgh and vicinity sent a document entitled "A Memorial of the Free Citizens of Color in Pittsburgh and Vicinity Relative to the Right of Suffrage", to the State's law-making body. It was read before the convention on July 8, 1837. Because of its excellent historical statement of the Negro's case, it is presented here in full:

"MEMORIAL

"To the Honorable Convention assembled for the purpose of proposing to the people of Pennsylvania, amendments to the existing Constitution of Pennsylvania.

"The Memorial of the undersigned free citizens of colour, residing in Pittsburgh and its vicinity, respectfully represents: That they have heard, with surprise and alarm, of an intention seriously expressed by some of the members of your honorable body, so to amend the Constitution as to make the right of suffrage depend not on the fact of being a freeman and a tax-payer, but on the complexion, whether dark or fair, which it may have pleased God to confer on the good people of this Commonwealth.

"That such an attempt should be mediated by a single individual in the year eighteen hundred and thirty seven, may well be regarded as matter of astonishment.

"It has been deemed both at home and abroad, a matter of just sarcasm, that, whilst the Declaration of Independence boasts of the universal equality of man, in many of the States one half of the community is the absolute property of the other subject to the despotic will, nay to the passion, caprice and cruelty of a master. In Pennsylvania public sentiment has triumphed over this glaring inconsistency. The brave spirits who achieved the Revolution, laid the foundation of a system by which slavery has been extinguished. The preamble of the noble act of the 1st of March, 1790, breathes a spirit which surely cannot have departed from the land. We beg leave to recall its imperishable language:

"When we contemplate our abhorrence of that condition to which the arms and tyranny of Great Britain were exerted to reduce us, when we look back on the variety of dangers to which we have been exposed, and how miraculously our wants in many instances have been supplied, and our deliverances wrought, when even hope and human fortitude have become unequal to the conflict we are unavoidably led to a serious and grateful sense of the manifold blessings which we have undeservedly received from the hand of that Being, from whom every good and perfect gift cometh. Impressed with these ideas, we conceive that it is our duty, and we rejoice that it is our power, to extend a portion of that freedom to others, which hath been extended to us, and release from that state of thralldom to which we ourselves were doomed and from which we have now every prospect of being delivered.

It is not for us to inquire why, in the creation of mankind, the inhabitants of the several parts of the earth were distinguished by a difference in feature and complexion. It is sufficient to know that all are the work of an Almighty hand. We find in the distribution of the human species, that the most fertile as well as the most barren parts of the earth are inhabited by men of complexions different from ours and from each other, from whence we may reasonably, as well as religiously infer, that He who placed them in their various situations, hath extended equally His care and protection to all, and that it becometh not us to counteract His mercies. We esteem it a peculiar blessing granted to us, that we are enabled this day to add one more step to universal civilization by removing as much as possible, the sorrows of those who have lived in undeserved bondage, and from which, by the assumed authority of the Kings of Great Britain, no effectual legal relief could be obtained. Weaned by a long course of experience from those narrow prejudices and partialities we had imbibed, we find our hearts enlarged with kindness and benevolence towards men of all conditions and nations; and we conceive ourselves at this particular period extraordinarily called upon, by the blessings which we have received, to manifest the sincerity of our profession, and give a substantial proof of our gratitude.'

"Such were the sentiments promulgated fifty-seven years ago, by the fathers of this Commonwealth! The undersigned cannot but believe that to discard these now and to fall back upon barbarous prejudices, would be not less impolite than unjust and cruel. The danger under which some of our sister states is now trembling is, that they hold within their bosom a population cut off from social rights, and looking with sullen discontent or eager hostility on all around them. In Pennsylvania the colored man, under her liberal and enlightened policy, has been taught to feel that he has an interest in common with the white man in sustaining her free institutions. He has felt that he shared in the blessings of her condition; and it has been his pride to show by his conduct as a citizen, that he is not unworthy of having been restored to the rights of humanity."

It is interesting to know that some of the leading Negro citizens of Pittsburgh today are descendants of the signors of this document. By 1838, Negroes were voting in seven counties of the State; though Philadelphia County was not one of them, it followed later. However, when Philadelphia Negroes sought to exercise their right of franchise in the spring elections of 1871, great disturbance and rioting ensued as the whites tried to prevent them. Police protection was so poor that United States marines were called to re-establish order. In the elections of the following fall, Jacob Gordon, a Negro, was shot down "on cold blood" on October 10; the night before and the next morning, assault and intimidation ran rampant. About a score of Negroes were wounded in the Fourth and Fifth Wards, and some were killed. Among these latter were Isaiah Chase and Octavius V. Catto. Despite this terror, Negroes continued to exercise their right to vote.

Up to 1880, the only jobs given Negroes in the various departments of the county or city governments were of a menial nature. Even these were not obtained through the political demand of the Negro voter. A Negro who happened to be in contact with some white person who was influential politically might get a job. The small group of independent voters tried many times, but unsuccessfully, to remedy this unjust situation. They were aided this time by a group of non partisan white voters headed by John Wanamaker. William Still, Robert Purvis, James Forten, and Dr. Nathan F. Messell were the colored leaders in this movement. A bitter fight was waged for the mayorality

and the Democrats were the victors. When Mayor Samuel G. King became Mayor early the following year, he appointed four Negro policemen: Charles Draper, David Truitt, James Davis, and Lewis Caldwell. For the remainder of the century, Philadelphia Negro voters held the balance of power politically, and they continued their battle for political patronage unceasingly. When the century ended, Negroes were employed in most, perhaps all, of the departments of city and county government. Moreover, some progress had been made in Pittsburgh, Chester, and Harrisburg. By 1898, there was Negro representation in the State Legislature.

On January 13, 1865, Negroes in Philadelphia began a struggle to win the right to ride on street cars. A meeting was held at Concert Hall on this date, and a large interracial committee was appointed to promote the case. The committee appealed first to each president of the nineteen street railways. William Still secured the signatures of 360 outstanding white citizens in behalf of the movement. One president, George Williams, of the Tenth and Eleventh Street Railways, proposed giving passengers ballots upon which to vote for or against granting Negroes this privilege. The street car conductors were made "judges", and all signed ballots were turned over to them. These "judges" returned a large majority against accepting Negro passengers. Negroes were often rejected from cars by the assistance of police. The Committee's next appeal was to the Mayor, he, however, refused to aid them. The committee then appealed to the State Legislature. A bill

to allow Negroes to ride on street cars was introduced in the Senate by Senator Lowry. Upon its passage by that body, it was sent to the House where it was defeated. Nevertheless, the committee continued its efforts. Test cases of Negroes ejected from cars were frequently sent to the courts. Every means of arousing public opinion was used. However, all efforts proved fruitless, until the weight of public opinion turned the scale. As a result of this, an act was passed on March 22, 1867, forbidding any railroad or railway corporation in Pennsylvania to exclude Negro passengers. Twenty years later on May 19, 1887, additional legislation enacted extended this law to cover restaurants, hotels, omnibus lines, theatres, concert halls, places of entertainment or amusement.

In spite of the law of 1887, and some public sentiment in favor of justice, discriminations continued. For several years, there was a growing sentiment among liberal whites and Negroes that the law of 1887 should be amended and strengthened. Such a bill was introduced in the 1935 Session of the Legislature by the Honorable Hobson R. Reynolds; it passed both houses.

Immediately, several pressure groups particularly the Pennsylvania Hotel Association urged the Governor not to sign the bill. The Honorable Homer S. Brown informed Governor Earle that a resolution was being introduced to have the bill recalled from his desk. The Governor replied: "Let them pass any resolution they want to. The Bill is now the law of the State of Pennsylvania. I am happy to have the opportunity to help to right a great wrong." The bill became Act 132 of the 1935 Session of the General Assembly which is as follows:

"No. 132
An Act

"To amend section one of act, approved the nineteenth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven (Pamphlet Laws, one hundred thirty), entitled 'An Act to provide civil rights for all people, regardless of race or color', amending and extending the provisions of said act, and increasing the penalties for violation thereof.

Section 1,
Act of May
19, 1887
(P.L. 130)
Amended.

"Section I--Be it enacted, & That section one of the act, approved the nineteenth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven (Pamphlet Laws, one hundred thirty), entitled 'An Act to provide civil rights for all people regardless of race or color', is hereby amended to read as follows:

Accommo-
dations of
public place
shall not be
denied to
any person
on account
of race,
color or
creed.

"Section--Be it enacted, & That (any person, company, corporation being owner, lessee or manager of any restaurant, hotel, railroad, street railway, omnibus line, theatre, concert hall or place of entertainment, or amusement, who shall refuse to accommodate, convey or admit any person or persons on account of race or color over their lines or into their hotel, or restaurant shall, upon conviction thereof, be guilty of a misdemeanor, and be punished by a fine not less than fifty dollars nor more than one hundred dollars) all persons within the jurisdiction of this commonwealth shall be entitled to the full and equal accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of any places of public accommodation, resort or amusement, subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law and applicable alike to all persons. No person being the owner, lessee, proprietor, manager, superintendent, agent or employee of any such place, shall directly or indirectly refuse, withhold from or deny to, any person any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities or privileges thereof, or directly or indirectly publish, circulate, issue, display, post or mail any written or printed communication, notice or advertisement to the effect that any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of any such places, shall be refused, withheld from, or denied to, any person on account of race, creed or color, or that the patronage or custom thereof of any person belonging to, or purporting to be of any particular race, creed or color is unwelcome,

objectionable or not acceptable, desired or solicited. The production of any such written or printed communication, notice or advertisement, purporting to relate to any such place and to be made by any person being the owner, lessee, proprietor, superintendent or manager thereof, shall be presumptive evidence in any civil or criminal action that the same was authorized by such person. A place of public accommodation, resort or amusement, within the meaning of this article, shall be deemed to include inns, taverns, roadhouses, hotels, whether conducted for the entertainment of transient guests, or for the accommodation of those seeking health, recreation or rest, or restaurants or eating houses, or any place where food is sold for consumption on the premises, buffets, saloons, barrooms, or any store, park or inclosure where spirituous or malt liquors are sold, ice cream parlors, confectioneries, soda fountains, and all stores where ice cream, ice and fruit preparations, or their derivations, or where beverages of any kind, are retailed for consumption on the premises, drug stores, dispensaries, clinics, hospitals, bath houses, theatres, motion picture houses, airdromes, roof gardens, music halls, race courses, skating rinks, amusement and recreation parks, fairs, bowling alleys, gymnasiums, shooting galleries, billiard and pool parlors, public libraries, kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, high schools, academies, colleges and universities, extension courses, and all educational institutions under the supervision of the commonwealth, garages of all public conveyances operated on land or water, as well as the stations and terminals thereof. Nothing herein contained shall be construed to include any institution, club or place or places of public accommodation, resort or amusement which is or are in its or their nature distinctly private, or to prohibit the mailing of a private communication in writing sent in response to a specific written inquiry.

Private
Clubs

"Any person who shall violate any of the provisions of this act or who shall aid or incite the violation of any said provision shall for each and every violation thereof be fined not less than one hundred dollars nor more than five hundred dollars, or shall be imprisoned for a period of not less than thirty days not more than ninety days, or in the discretion of the court, both such fine and imprisonment may be imposed.

Approved--The 11th day of June A.D. 1935

George H. Earle"

Numerous persons of both races throughout the State have been interviewed with reference to the above Act. Most of them feel that it is unfortunate that such an Act is necessary, but feel that it has done some good. Staff visits in the various communities have shown that in no case has this law increased segregation; in many instances, it has broken down segregation or mitigated it; in many others, it has had little observable effect. In cases where the law is still violated in this regard, many violators deny it and use several types of subterfuge to escape the consequences of their acts; some of them violate it without any attempt to conceal their lawlessness; others openly admit that they do not intend to observe this law.

Moreover, in several communities, it is reported that law enforcement officers do not seem interested in enforcing it. It has been reported to the Commission that in a number of communities, managers of hotels and restaurants seem to have an unwritten agreement with the police that whenever a Negro insists upon being served, he is reported as disturbing the peace and is arrested therefor or asked by the police to leave the given hotel or restaurant. This type of premediated violation of the law is said to be a rather effective means of intimidating Negroes. Open intimidation has also been reported.

According to complaints and also the investigations of the staff, tourist houses and camps, roof gardens, taverns, roadhouses, restaurants, and night clubs and hotels are the most frequent violators of the law in this regard. Owners,

managers and others responsible for policy making in instances where Negroes are refused service or are offered restricted services, indicate very often, that the presence of Negro patrons is detrimental to their business, in that their ~~white~~ ~~guests~~ ~~object~~ ~~to~~ Negro patrons. To be sure, some whites do object. However, so far as the Commission can determine, the vast majority of whites would not cease patronizing hotels or any specific hotel because of Negro patrons. Some few hotel managers who serve Negroes have admitted that they can see no reduction in business due to Negro patrons. Where the management is determined to observe the law, there seems to be relatively little difficulty.

Throughout the State, many restaurants have been reported as openly violating the Civil Rights Law of the State. There are many others which keep the letter of the law but violate it in spirit. Among the practices reported are (1) very long delays in service, (2) excessive costs for food, (3) informing Negroes that all seats are taken or are being reserved for a party which is expected or due very soon, (4) serving food improperly in such a manner as to make it very obvious that Negro patronage is not wanted, (5) breaking the dishes out of which Negroes have eaten in their presence, (6) the practice of having Negro patrons make several selections and saying after each selection that ~~the~~ "order is "Just out" or "It will not be ready for an hour or more", and similar methods of discouraging and embarrassing Negro patrons. Obviously, in the very nature of the case, restaurants have little grounds

upon which to base such practices. The fact that a few persons of another race object to Negro patrons is not valid reason for violating the law.

There have been numerous reports over a long period of time relative to discrimination on one of the major interstate bus lines operating in the State. Many bus drivers of this line are known to insist that Negroes take seats in the rear. Many ticket agents habitually "reserve" rear seats for Negroes. In many instances, they are known to cooperate with bus drivers in enforcing segregation. The staff of the Commission gathered some evidence which seems to support this complaint. Many Negroes have protested this practice; others have refused to be seated in such a manner and have had their tickets reclaimed rather than submit to discrimination. Altercations between Negro passengers and bus drivers have been reported as a result of this practice. However, it is not an acknowledged policy of the Company under consideration; it seems to be the idea of a number of the drivers. There are a number of drivers of this particular Company who observe the law. Nevertheless, so far as has been reported, the Company has never been known to discipline a driver for violating the law in this regard. On the whole, the Company is at fault, for if it disciplined its drivers and ticket agents who violate the law, the practice of insisting that Negroes sit only in the rear of the buses would cease.

In addition to this major interstate bus line, there is a smaller interstate bus line whose drivers seat Negroes in

the rear of the bus under the pretense that all of the front seats are "reserved". Often, the ticket itself gives the driver some privilege in this respect. On the otherhand, there are other interstate bus lines which are reported as observing the law in this matter and are reported as being as courteous to Negro passengers as to others. Thus, it is rather obvious that discrimination is not a preference of white passengers. It seems to be a preference of some drivers and ticket agents who seem to be supported by their respective companies.

Theatres have been reported to the Commission as violating the Civil Rights Law. "Sold Out" is the usual term; in addition thereto, other subtle methods are used to exclude Negroes. However, total exclusion is not the most frequent manner in which theatres violate the law. Violations occur most often by seating all Negroes in the same area, or by giving them only rear seats, or seats in the balcony only, and by refusing to sell Negroes box and orchestra seats. In several instances, when Negroes have protested these actions, quarrels, altercations and arrests have followed. Generally, the Negroes involved believe that they have been given more severe penalties for such disturbances than whites. In a similar manner, as has been pointed out elsewhere, many amusement parks, skating rinks, etc., restrict and exclude Negro patrons.

Violations of the Civil Rights Law by persons engaged in business is not without its counterpart in government owned and controlled parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, etc. On the

otherhand, such restrictions and exclusions are by no means universal for, in hundreds of instances, Negroes make use of public facilities without any friction. However, wherever they have occurred, many Negro citizens have often protested these restrictions. Frequently, riots have resulted therefrom. One such place in Philadelphia has been the source of much interracial friction for many years. Recently, one Negro and one white policeman were assigned to keep order. Both of these men are well prepared for their jobs. In addition thereto, a very well trained Negro life guard was assigned to the swimming pool. Later, another well trained Negro life guard from a neighboring settlement house came and conducted classes in swimming. It was reported in August, 1942, that white boys outnumbered Negro boys in his classes. Thanks to the Crime Prevention Association, the Department of Public Safety, and the Wharton Settlement, race riots have thus far been turned to a good example of interracial cooperation. The case for intelligent enforcement of the law is established. Wise leadership and cooperative planning on the part of private, semi-private, and public officials are the obvious answer to such problems. This example should be multiplied many times throughout the State.

As has been indicated, many other discriminations against Negroes today fall within the realm of government. Too often, the agencies of justice have permitted citizens who discriminate against Negroes to go unapprehended or if apprehended, not brought to trial, and have otherwise permitted such offenders

to violate the inalienable rights of Negro citizens with impunity. In addition to the misfeasance and malfeasance indicated above, many public servants in other branches of government have discriminated against Negroes. Likewise, so far as Negroes are concerned, democracy has disproportionately discriminated against those whom it has elected to positions of influence; those on whom it has conferred delegated authority; and those whom it has permitted to be selected to positions of influence and responsibility through civil service.

Exclusions, restrictions, and other forms of physical and psychological discrimination have created "social distance" between the two races which by its very nature tends to prevent better understanding. The following statement of Bishop R. R. Wright which was written many years ago is equally true today:

"In dealing with the Negro, it is difficult for the community as a whole to do the race justice. The old instinct in all of us which prompts us to magnify the evils and minimize the good of a group, different from ours, affects the Negro in all walks of life. White men do not associate with the best Negroes; they rarely enter their homes; they are excluded from their social circles; they cannot become members of their secret societies; they do not become members of their churches; they are seldom business partners and they cannot know the inside life of the higher group of Negroes. On the other hand, they are often benefactors of the poorer Negroes; they meet the criminal Negro in the court, the pauper at the poorhouse; they have the servant in their kitchen, and they read the newspapers in which are sensational reports of Negro crimes, written by reporters, most of them who never saw the inside of the homes of the well-to-do Negro.

"It is not an exaggeration to state that the community as a whole, is ignorant of the real life of Negroes. It is a very rare thing to find a white man who rightly interprets the facts which come to him regarding Negro life. It is difficult for trained investigators to secure accurate information, especially, if these investigators be white. Time was when a Negro would, for the mere asking, or in order to secure sympathy, reveal his life to the Northern white man but the time has passed in Pennsylvania at least, and they are few and fortunate indeed to whom the Negro, intelligent or ignorant, will reveal his soul".⁽¹⁾

In brief, the social distance created by these discriminatory policies and acts is so vast that there often appears to be two culture patterns in one geographical area having the same political ideology and the same God. Howbeit, white citizens are not always entirely at fault in all of the separations and distinctions which they establish, maintain, and promote. Too often, upon the advice and request of so-called Negro leaders, well-meaning white citizens have upheld, preserved, and promoted separation and segregation; thereby, further perpetuating the caste system. Nevertheless, irrespective of the cause, source and its nature, the nearly three century old Caste System persists.

By some strange, illogical, and unscientific methods, even many intellectuals held that the Caste System was personal and private and had no essential and required relationship to democratic government. Nothing could be further from the truth.

(1)

Wright, R.R., THE NEGRO IN PENNSYLVANIA, P. 183

Life is an unity which cannot be divided into mutually exclusive and unrelated areas. Hence, these discriminatory policies and acts do not exist because they are permitted by democracy though they may often be the will of the majority. On the contrary, they mock democracy and make justice both blind and lame. In a democracy, the majority imposes its will upon the minority for the benefit of the common good. In addition to being unjust, discrimination is undemocratic in that one form of discrimination begets another until the entire society is engulfed; hence, since every citizen belongs to some political, economic, religious, racial, educational, social, or cultural minority, any form of discrimination is against the common good. Moreover, the greatest evil of discrimination is that it curses alike, those who are discriminated against and those who discriminate.

Therefore, your Commission submits to Your Honorable Bodies and His Excellency, and through them, to the people of this great and good Commonwealth, that the inalienable rights of no group can be violated without correspondingly jeopardizing the rights of all citizens. It is, therefore, the democratic duty and high Christian privilege of the citizens of the State to secure to the Negro population equal opportunity with the general population in the areas herein set forth.

Exhibit No. 1

Prepared by:

Wilson S. Berland, Executive Director; The Pittsburgh
Housing Association - Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

1. What is the total number of substandard dwellings occupied by whites and Negroes respectively?

It is rather difficult to estimate the proportion of substandard dwellings occupied by Negroes since, to my knowledge, there is no accurate record of dwelling occupancy upon that basis. The 1940 housing census, when available, will contain records of dwelling occupancy by race but condition will not be recorded. A rough estimate can be approached, however. In 1934, over 17 per cent of the city's dwellings were substandard (in need of major repair or unfit for use). Since then there has been some demolition and some new building, but the total picture remains about the same.

Approximately three-fifths (59 per cent) of the city's Negro population lives in the areas of worst housing: the Hill, North Manchester, East Liberty, the Strip, and Hazelwood districts. Of 1481 homes visited on complaint in these areas by the Pittsburgh Housing Association during 1941, 864, or 58.3 per cent, were Negro occupied. Of the Negro families visited, the great majority were found living in "substandard" dwellings (those in need of major repair or unfit for use). Seventy-seven per cent of the Negro relief families, 74 per cent of those on WPA, and 54 per cent of those privately employed were living in such quarters. (See pp. 19-21, the Pittsburgh Housing Association's annual report for further information.

2. Of the total number of cellar dwellings in Pittsburgh, how many are Negro?

Unfortunately, the City of Pittsburgh does not register cellar dwellings so that we have no total information in this category. However, from our field inspection we know that entirely too many such dwellings still exist despite our efforts to get them vacated. Of 67 instances (mostly concentrated in the "Hill" district) on which we have complete information as of this Spring 88 per cent were Negro and 12 per cent white.

3. Of the total number of lodgers in Pittsburgh, how many of them were white and how many Negro?

3. (Continued)

No record available. The 1940 housing census will contain information on furnished rooms, but those data are not yet available. Latest reports indicate that the housing census for Pittsburgh will be released in a month or two.

4. Does your study of demolition by wards or districts show that the rate has been greater in Negro neighborhoods than in white neighborhoods? Where do Negroes go who move from demolished dwellings?

Very definitely. Roughly two-thirds of the demolitions in the last seven years have been concentrated in the areas where Negroes live. (Cf. maps in the Association's 1941-1942 annual report).

As to where persons go from demolished dwellings, the Association has made no follow-up studies recently. However, a copy is enclosed of a study made several years ago of families dispossessed by demolition of unsafe dwellings and a copy of a map indicating the relocation (by census tract) of families moved from the sites of three housing projects. Since the majority of the dispossessed families were Negro, these will give some idea of what happens.

- 5 & 6 Questions concerning violations of housing laws.

No such information available. From the Housing Association's observations in the field, we would say that, generally, the "responsibility" for violations, particularly in the majority of low-rent Negro dwellings, should be placed on the house itself. Most of the dwellings are so old that they disintegrate faster than they can be repaired.

7. What suggestions would you offer for the reduction of the present substandard housing among Negroes?

This is a large question and one difficult to answer, particularly in view of the restrictions on housing in wartime. New construction, except in critical areas and for defense workers only, is out for the post-war period, looking toward more public low-rent housing, "mutual-ownership" (or cooperative) plants for higher income families, limited dividend housing, etc. I feel that the job will never be done by private builders in their hit or miss fashion. The problem, in urban areas particularly, is tremendous and must be attacked on exactly as great a scale.

7. (Continued)

For the duration we must think in terms of making the best possible use of what we have. We must enforce standards and, therefore, repair. Even now landlords who know their rents will be generally frozen are trying to evade responsibility by not making repairs on the excuse that materials are not available, etc. This, of course, is erroneous. Materials are available for maintenance and repair, and the fight for standards must be continued. This must be done by pressure on enforcement authorities from citizen groups, social agencies, tenants' leagues, etc. There is good possibility that assistance in the struggle may come from two federal sources: (1) the Homes Utilization Agency, a new section of the National Housing Agency and now in the state of formation; (2) the Rent Control Program, under whose regulations existing services (that is, standard maintenance work) may not be diminished even though rents are frozen.

8. To what extent is the rental income from the present occupied substandard housing commensurate with the risks and investments of the landlords?

This question is a complex one, difficult to answer without many qualifications and reservations. However, one can state a couple of generalities which are true. If an owner is conscientious and concerned with the adequate maintenance of his property, it is doubtful that he can do much more than break even over a period of years. For example, over the last ten years it is very doubtful that slum property has been able to do anything but carry itself on the average income over the years. Only in the last couple of years has the rental income from such property been greater than its liability. In the depression years even unscrupulous landlords lost money.

"In the Pittsburgh 'Hill District', for example, the assessments are completely out of line, based not on economic reality but on fallacious theories. That is, the assessors say here is 50 front feet of property that, because of its nearness to town and its possible future use, is worth about \$3000. Add to that a dwelling worth \$2000 and we'll tax it on \$5000. Actually, in its present use and condition, it is not worth more than about \$2000 and the owner cannot rent for more than a \$2000 property would bring. A reputable realtor states that as much as 60 per cent of the rental income from Hill District property under his management goes for taxes. The only landlords who can really 'get much' from slum property are those who buy up old stuff for a song, forget to repair and pay taxes, milk the property for every cent they can, and then let it go to the city for the delinquency.

9. To what extent is it possible for private capital to provide standard low-cost housing for recipients of relief, persons who are on WPA, and similar types of income?

I do not believe that it is possible for private capital to provide for the lowest incomes except in rare cases of rehabilitated property and even then the family will have to pay a too great share of income for rent.

The large public low-rent projects in Pittsburgh, which provide good if simplified accommodations, were built most economically, their construction cost being below that for private construction of equivalent accommodations. Nevertheless, the rents actually paid average about 50 per cent of the economic rent and therefore considerably less than 50 per cent of the commercial rental level. And it must be remembered that these rents are scaled to the tenant's income.

In a study completed early in 1941 by Allegheny County Board of Assistance, in cooperation with the Housing Association, it was found that relief families paid from 57 per cent to 168 per cent more than their shelter allowance (maximum of \$9.75), thereby encroaching greatly on the amounts intended for food, milk, and clothing.

10. Approximately what is the lowest income group for which it is possible to provide standard housing?

In public low-rent housing (subsidized), the relief level income group can be housed. However, to make it at all feasible, not more than 20 to 25 per cent of the units can be rented at that level. It would, therefore, take many more such projects than we now have. In rehabilitated housing, if publicly sponsored and operated, a higher percentage of relief recipients could be housed.

Of the few examples we know of privately 'rehabilitated' dwellings, an income level of, say, \$1200 a year could be reached (assuming 25 per cent of income for rent). Of new, standard, privately constructed housing, I do not see how an income group lower than \$1500-\$1700 could be provided for."

11. Considering the given location, state of repair of the given structure, and modernity of accommodations, do Negroes pay higher rents than white persons?

Definitely, YES. See pp. 19-21 of the Association's 1941-1942 annual report.

12. In what way, if any, do the various defense housing problems adversely affect Negroes?

One way that has not received much attention is the effect on political organization. For example, the 2d Ward of Homestead was almost solidly Negro. When that area was cleared to allow for a new mill, the former residents were scattered in various sections of Allegheny County and the City of Pittsburgh and their organized political strength completely dissipated.

Another aspect to be noted is the differential between Negro incomes and those of whites. Figures are not immediately available but it is established that a far higher percentage of Negro defense workers have low incomes than whites. As a result the Negro worker's standard of living must be lower than the white's in order to pay the same rent.

13. As compared with other citizens, to what extent, if any, is there an inadequacy of defense housing for Negroes in Pittsburgh?

In the City of Pittsburgh itself, the proportion of public defense houses allotted to Negroes is most adequate. When fully tenanted, the city projects will be about 50-50 Negro and white. Although there has been some "defense" housing built by private builders, this is mostly for sale and in white suburban areas outside the city limits. The County Housing Authority, operating outside the City lines has assigned public housing to some Negro families but not on the same scale as the city authority. When the county projects are fully tenanted, probably 10 per cent of the dwellings will be Negro occupied.

Exhibit No. 2

Prepared by:

Richard McCaskey, President
Octavia Hill Association, Inc., Philadelphia

I have, as far as we are able, answered the questions you put. The following answers are numbered to correspond with the numbers on your questionnaire:

2. There are very few cellar dwellings in this area and these have windows above ground line. Cellar dwelling is illegal.
4. Tenant migrations (due to demolitions) are about equally divided between white and colored.

(a) Tenants usually try to find accommodations in their old neighborhood, and prefer houses to apartments. They frequently move in with relatives.
5. As we do not permit violations of housing laws, these are corrected when they come to our attention. The principal violation is the use of oil stoves for heating. No data on number of white and colored tenants involved.
6. No data
7. We believe that if entire blocks in slum areas could be acquired, the living standards could be appreciably raised, but not when only a part of a group is controlled. Negroes with a living wage and some education are anxious to live in a decent environment. The education of negroes, with classes in hygiene for instance, by members of their own race; education of owners and programs to stimulate community interest would be helpful.
8. A program for tenant education should include
 - 1 - Utilization of material attained -
 - 1 - Meeting most of present conditions
 - 2 - Cleanliness
 - 3 - Decorations
 - 2 - Saving for Living -
 - 1 - To buy home if possible or
 - 2 - To make home place to live
 - 3 - "Makeshifts"

3 - Home programs -

- 1 - Keep children occupied
- 2 - Recreation for family
- 3 - Building up neighborhood, etc.

- 9. "Private capital can not provide adequate low cost housing on any normal investment basis. Such housing must be subsidized in some way to be effective."
- 10. "Rental income from substandard housing is not very stable investment, but pays a high return when the working conditions of the country are satisfactory."
- 11. Any housing plan which does not consider all income levels, can not be considered completely successful.
- 12. Negroes do pay higher rents than white tenants for similar accommodations. They are also more liable to be destructive.
- 13. I do not believe that defense housing affects the negro adversely.

Exhibit No. 3

Statement Submitted by Sydney Maslon,
 Chairman of the National Committee of Housing Associations,
 and Secretary of the Committee on Housing of the
 Community Service Society, New York,
 to the Pennsylvania State Temporary Commission on the
 Conditions of the Urban Colored Population

Your secretary, Mr. Laurence Foster, in his letter to me on March 5, 1942, asked me to prepare a short document on the following questions:

1. Suggest a program of tenant education which you think would be valuable to all persons whose socio-economic conditions are similar to those of Negroes.
2. To what extent is it possible for private capital to provide decent housing for recipients of relief, WPA workers, and persons of similar income?
3. Approximately, what is the lowest income group for which it is possible to provide decent housing?
 (Kindly consider the Middle Atlantic States as a regional basis for consideration.)

Following are my answers to these questions:

1. Tenant Education. The educational program of tenant organizations, such as the United Tenants League and the Consolidated Tenants League in the City of New York, provides valuable training and experience in tenant education for persons whose socio-economic conditions are similar to those of Negroes, in my judgment. Such an educational program might well include the following:

- (a) Participation in the activities of a tenants league as mentioned above.
- (b) Current information on tenants' rights under the Civil Practice Act, under rent control laws, under health, building or housing codes, and under the public housing legislation.
- (c) Guidance on how to develop public support for improvements in the laws mentioned above and in other social and housing measures.
- (d) Participation in the organization and management of a consumer cooperative society and the development of a cooperative approach toward the solution of mutual problems.

2. "Under conditions which prevailed in the building industry before and during the war, it has not been profitable for private enterprise to build dwellings which meet minimum requirements for health, safety, sanitation, convenience and comfort, and rent these within the means of the majority of wage earners.

"Recipients of relief, WPA workers and persons of similar income usually can be provided with healthful housing only by a subsidized public housing program. This, however, does not rule out the possibility of including this group in dwellings operated by semi-philanthropic housing enterprises which are operated as housing societies."

3. The lowest income group for which it is possible for private enterprise to provide decent housing under the normal conditions of the building industry are those who can afford to pay \$10 per room per month, or \$15 in New York City. Obviously, these figures will need to be adjusted to meet particular local conditions.

Should the building industry be reorganized after the war and put on a large-scale basis and if the prefabricated housing industry develops, it is conceivable that the economic rent could be reduced below \$10 per room per month. Even so, the lowest one-third to one-half of the income group probably could not afford to live in dwellings operated by unassisted private enterprise.

Attached are reports on "Recent Trends in Housing in the United States", which contains a further discussion of the part which private enterprise can play in rehousing the slum dweller, and a copy of a special study made by the Committee on Housing of the Community Service Society on cost reduction in housing construction, entitled "Toward Lower Cost Housing."

Exhibit No. 4

Prepared by:

Mrs. Hannah N. Bernheimer, Executive Secretary, Tenants and Homeowners-Security League-- Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

1. What suggestions would you offer for the significant reduction of the present substandard housing among all racial groups whose socio-economic conditions are similar to those of Negroes?

There are a number of constructive suggestions which may be made in answer to this question but, today, they have to be considered in the light of a nation at war.

Efforts which might have been made a year ago to change substandard housing conditions either cannot be effected today or will need redoubled effort. Undoubtedly, substandard housing is responsible to some degree for the shortage of available man power. The socio-economic conditions controlling those who are forced to live in this way are responsible for unhealthy citizens lacking in proper morale. Hospitals and jails testify to this as do increased cost in police and fire protection which result from such neighborhood pattern existence.

To implement any program today which would obliterate these conditions would mean that the best forces of the community would have to join in the efforts.

But that these efforts should be made if we are to prosecute this war to a speedy victory goes without saying. The health and morale of our citizens is all important. Neither good citizens nor good fighters come out of substandard housing.

Therefore, we the Tenants League of Philadelphia, do hereby suggest the following program for our city. This general outline could be used for any community where similar housing conditions exist.

A. Registration and classification of all dwelling units, individual or multiple to insure compliance at least with legal standards.

1. Inspection on a semi-yearly or yearly basis.
2. Certificates to be issued for certain fixed nominal charge after inspection shows that unit complies with Housing Code of 1915.

B. An Abatement Fund of \$250,000 to be allocated by City Council to implement above and which would be subsequently recoverable.

1. Certificates and repayments from liens on properties would render this a revolving fund.
2. Section 49 of Housing Code could be enforced.
3. Legislation to compel providing of adequate heating facilities for all dwelling units. (This already exists in most states to minimize fire hazards.)

C. The coordination of city departments of Building Inspection, Department of Public Health and the Fire Department. All officers and personnel and inspectors to be under Civil Service to insure a competent personnel.

D. Federal cooperation in order to obtain necessary funds and priorities for vital rehabilitation and in order to implement above Section 49 of Housing Code.

E. The formation through State and Federal cooperation of landlord cooperatives in order to change localities where the neighborhood pattern shows a majority of substandard units.

(Note) Landlord cooperatives brought into force through proper legislation have been very successful in England, Sweden and Holland.

F. Citizens' Committees composed predominantly of tenants themselves to extend neighborhood patterns in low income areas where the vacancy rate has practically disappeared.

1. To break down discrimination against Negro families who are forced to move.
2. To cooperate with the Fair Rent Committee to see that rents are not raised.

2. Suggest a program of tenant education which you think would be valuable to all persons whose economic conditions are similar to those of Negroes?

The average lease, (if such a document is available to any tenants living in substandard housing), is of such a nature that the tenant has a minimum of privilege and therefore necessarily feels a minimum of responsibility. The Tenants League has given

great consideration to the education of tenants. But under existing tenant-landlord agent relationships, where the emphasis is placed as it is on the necessity for the greatest possible revenue from the properties (a recent survey by the Philadelphia Housing Association showed that the average profit in this class is between 13 per cent and 33 per cent), tenant education is a difficult proposition. So, in answering this question, the fact that landlords and agents are concerned with property values and are not at all concerned with the health or general welfare of the human beings who live in these properties, has to be taken into consideration.

Therefore we suggest that, in order to implement a constructive program for tenant education, the following steps should be taken:

- A. A fair and standard tenant-landlord lease, insured by legislation or through efforts of Citizens' Committees such as Fair Rent Committee. Such to include clauses that rights of tenants cannot be waived.
(Note) New York City has such a "favorable" lease and finds that better tenant cooperation can be obtained.
- B. A pamphlet or booklet for tenant use to include their rights under the Housing Code and under leases and the aspects of landlord-tenant relationship. (The Tenants' League has done this with excellent effect on tenant cooperation. This should contain suggestions and instructions as to duties and responsibilities towards the home. We have found that in many cases of southern Negro families where the previous living conditions have not included the necessity for heat and where the family income is not sufficient to cover that expense, the results is that all available wood in the household construction is used for heating purposes. Therefore the inclusion in such a pamphlet of simple instructions covering ordinary repairs to loose rails, steps, door knobs, shelves, window ropes, etc., would seem advisable. It should also include care of plumbing and heating facilities; economic use of water and toilet facilities; instruction as to care of cellar, here and adjacent premises. Many tenants comply willingly when certain standards are fixed for them. (See USHA Housing Bulletins).

C. An Educational Program under competent leadership comprising the following points:

1. Group meetings of residents of neighborhoods where a library may be set up of pamphlets and housing material issued by State and local Housing Authorities. Consumers Guide (U.S. Government publication to be included.)
2. Meetings of such groups to consider immediate problems involved.
 - a. Housing problems including inspections, conditions, legislation, etc.
 - b. Cooperative buying of coal, tools for minor repairs, paint, etc.
 - c. System of exchange of tools, etc., and barter of services.
3. A local Bulletin Board where items of interest, notice of meetings, etc., could be posted.
4. A class in housing for the local tenants. To be given by local leaders.
5. Entertainment and social features to be a portion of each program. Housing movies. Speakers from City organizations.
6. Educational trips through improved neighborhoods where the pattern has been changed through landlord-tenant cooperation.

3. To what extent is it possible for private capital to provide low cost housing for recipients of relief, persons on WPA, and similar types of income?

With government subsidy, there would be no limitation to what could be done for the groups mentioned above. But private capital has proved that it cannot be invested in this way, if it is to be assured a reasonable profit. Mr. Arthur W. Binns of Philadelphia has demonstrated this probably better than anyone else in the United States. Through a national magazine he advertised that private builders of low cost homes--or rehabilitated houses--could have a 12 per cent profit. This he repudiated later, privately. First, the Binns' rents were not low but for middle income tenants; secondly, houses were definitely substandard; and third, this sort of thing cannot be done profitably and he admitted that private interests must get subsidy to provide such housing. (See Amazing Case

of Mr. Binns, published by the Tenants League.)

The fact that no great amounts of private capital have been invested in low-cost housing would seem in itself to force the conclusion that it cannot be so invested at reasonable profit. Rehabilitation schemes have proven uneconomic in the long run since depreciation is excessively high..

4. Approximately what is the lowest income group for which it is possible to provide decent housing?

With government subsidy and city cooperation it has been shown that low-cost decent housing can be built for the lowest income groups. The achievements to date have taken this out of the realm of experiment.

Schools, hospitals, libraries, clinics, roads, water systems, police and fire departments and such other facilities are organized by the city, state and Federal governments for all income groups. Why should decent housing be excluded since it falls in the same social category and tends to eliminate the same social evils and reduce similar social costs.

5. To what extent, if any, would it be possible for public and private interests to cooperate in providing decent housing for all families whose income is similar to those of Negroes?

With proper legislation and the cooperation of private capital, together with the above mentioned government subsidies, an adequate program might have been developed. At the present time and under war conditions, it is difficult to say just how far any such program could be taken. The question of priorities has to enter vitally into any such movement. But there are still 90,000 substandard dwellings in Philadelphia and there is little doubt that if all forces joined to remedy this condition, great improvements would result. (Note) England arrived through such a program of cooperation prior to the outbreak of war, with private interests building for middle income groups but cooperating on a master plan to rehabilitation and beautification.

6. As compared with other citizens, to what extent, if any, is there an inadequacy of defense housing for Negroes?

In the city of Philadelphia, there is at present no defense housing for Negroes. Twenty-four hundred homes have been allocated to the city. According to the Philadelphia Housing Authority there is no way of determining at present how many will be used by Negroes, and there seems to be no indication that any of it will be so used. (Note locations.) It is safe to assume though that if the present discrimination against the employment of Negroes by certain firms having war contracts continues, not many will be placed in these homes.

In answering these questions, it has been difficult to have to leave out entirely the question of percentage of rent in comparison to total income. It would seem that this percentage, ranging as it does from a normal of 20 per cent - 25 per cent to an abnormal of 60 per cent, should be given consideration. The Tenants League finds that rentals in Negro neighborhoods are considerably higher than those for the same type of homes in white localities.

On the basis of assessment values, usually lower than in similar type white areas, this would seem an unfair condition, as it is directly related to substandard housing inasmuch as it leads to overcrowding, and undue depreciation forcing slum neighborhoods where Negroes reside. It also tends to crowd Negroes into the most dilapidated sections.

In conclusion, may we express the hope that this Commission will be able to persuade our city and state, and also arouse Philadelphians to the fact that decent housing for all groups is a valuable and necessary help to our war efforts; that it will be able to break through the vigorous opposition to all public low-cost housing which has been made by real estate interests locally and nationally; and that it will be able to influence our city and state governments along the lines suggested for the benefit of the nation as a whole and for national unity.

Exhibit No. 5

Prepared by:

Elizabeth H. Pitney, Research Secretary
Philadelphia Tuberculosis and Health Association

Enclosed is a table which summarizes the activities of the twenty-seven chest clinics forming the Philadelphia Association of Tuberculosis Clinics. The figures have been made available through the courtesy of Miss Gertrude K. Langton, Executive Secretary of the Association. While representing the bulk of the diagnostic work which is done in the city, they do not, of course, include an undetermined amount of work carried on by private physicians, schools, universities and professional schools, maternal and child hygiene clinics and other agencies, nor the results of the Army's case-finding program at induction centers. Despite these limitations it would seem that the clinic figures afford the best available index of the distribution by color of the measures which are being taken for the diagnosis and control of tuberculosis. For the sake of simplicity the data have been classified in two categories, white and non-white. The figures for the non-white population may be taken as almost identical with those for Negroes, since Negroes constitute 32.3 per cent of Philadelphia's non-white population.

The magnitude of the tuberculosis problem among Negroes may be read in the mortality figures. The Negroes, constituting 13 per cent of the population, suffer 45 per cent of the tuberculosis deaths.

On this basis it might be expected that 45 per cent of the new cases diagnosed would be found among Negroes. Such is not the case, only 34 per cent of the cases first diagnosed in the clinics during 1941 occurred among Negroes. It has been observed in other urban centers that the ratio of new cases to deaths tends to be lower in the Negro than in the white population and this has been attributed in part to the rapid course which the disease process often appears to follow in Negroes. It must also be assumed that case finding methods are less successful with the Negro than with the white population in discovering tuberculosis before it has progressed to a fatal conclusion.

Since Negroes constitute 41 per cent of the patients under clinic care, it would be expected that 41 per cent of the clinic facilities would be devoted to their care. As a matter of fact they did receive in 1941, 39 per cent of the sputum examinations, 37 per cent of the X-ray procedures and 60 per cent of the tuberculin tests.

In the matter of hospitalization it will be noted that 31 per cent of the clinic patients having tuberculosis were Negroes and that precisely the same proportion were admitted to hospitals, sanatoria and other institutions for the treatment of tuberculosis. The second table which is enclosed gives a more complete picture of the hospitalization of tuberculous patients from Philadelphia.

The figures would suggest that while clinic facilities, as adequate as for white patients, are available for the Negroes who present themselves for diagnosis and treatment, the control program is relatively defective in respect to case-finding among Negroes. This is not only an administrative problem but one which is closely related to the social and economic problems of Negroes in Philadelphia.

PHILADELPHIA, 1941

NUMBER OF ADMISSIONS OF TUBERCULOUS RESIDENTS OF PHILADELPHIA

TO VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS DURING 1941

Institution	Total	White	Non-white
<u>State Sanatoria</u>			
Cresson	90	49	41
Hamburg	171	116	55
Mont Alto	293	(185) <u>a/</u>	(108) <u>a/</u>
<u>Other Institutions for Tuberculosis b/</u>	669	627	42
<u>Other State and County Institutions c/</u>	44	30	14
<u>Municipal Hospitals</u>			
Philadelphia General Hospital	1,520	811	709
Philadelphia Hospital for Contagious Diseases	85	31	54
<u>Federal Hospitals</u>	155	122	33
<u>General Hospitals in Philadelphia</u>	814	589	225
All Institutions	3,841	(2,560) <u>a/</u>	(1,281) <u>a/</u>

Source: Questionnaire mailed to the above institutions by the Philadelphia Tuberculosis and Health Association. All figures are for 1941 unless otherwise noted below.

a/ Estimated on the assumption that admissions to Mont Alto are distributed by color in the same ratio as at Cresson and Hamburg.

b/ Chestnut Hill Home for Consumptives, Children's Seashore House (New Jersey), Devitt's Camp, Eagleville Sanatorium, Jefferson Chest Department, Loomis (New York), Mount McGregor (New York), Rush Hospital (including Malvern), Rosemere Sanatorium, Trudeau (New York, 1940), Wawa Chest Institute, White Haven Sanatorium.

- c/ Allentown, Farview, Norristown, Philadelphia and Wernersville State Hospitals, Eastern State Penitentiary (1940), Philadelphia County Prison (1940) and Pennhurst State School.
- d/ Veterans Facilities at Aspinwell and Castle Point, U. S. Marine Hospital at Ellis Island and U. S. Naval Hospital, Philadelphia (1939).
- e/ Broad Street, Chestnut Hill, Children's, Community, Doctor's, Douglass Memorial, Episcopal, Frankford, Friend's, Germantown, Graduate, Hahnemann, Joseph Price Memorial, Lankenau, Moréy, Methodist Episcopal, Misericordia, Mount Sinai, Nazareth, Northeastern (1940), Northern Liberties, Pennsylvania, Presbyterian, Roxborough Memorial, St. Agnes, St. Christopher's, St. Joseph's (1940), St. Luke's and Children's, St. Mary's, Temple University, Woman's Hospital of Philadelphia, Woman's Homeopathic (1940), Woman's Medical College, University.

Exhibit No. 6

Prepared by:

Dr. C. R. Reynolds, Director, Bureau of Tuberculosis Control
Department of Health, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

- I (A) Total number of persons treated for tuberculosis in state-owned hospitals during the year 1941 was 4,719; whites 4,118, Negroes 601--proportion of Negroes treated 12.7 per cent. Negro population in Pennsylvania in 1940 was about 4.7 per cent.
- II Number of persons treated at State Tuberculosis Clinics in 1941 was 27,679. Whites 25,128; Negroes 2,551.

Note: These figures refer only to State Tuberculosis Clinics and do not include a few of these clinics not yet reported, or the Tuberculosis Clinics under the administration of city governments of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

III Tuberculin Skin Test

	Whites	10,407		
	Negroes	<u>1,200</u>		
	Total	11,607		
X-ray Examinations			Cases of Active Tuberculosis	
	Whites	15,183	Whites	3,038
	Negroes	<u>1,890</u>	Negroes	<u>478</u>
	Total	17,073	Total	3,516

Note:

The tuberculin skin test is given chiefly at the clinics, not in the case-finding surveys.

The x-ray examinations were made at the clinics, State Teachers Colleges, Lincoln University, Dauphin County (Negro population) and a few institutions such as the Scotland Orphan School and the YWCA. The x-ray surveys were most productive among the colored groups at clinics and Dauphin County colored population and Lincoln University. Results were almost negligible at State Teachers Colleges, 4,136 x-ray examinations--6 active tuberculosis cases found.

- IV Based on the proportion of Negroes in the total population of Pennsylvania there is no relative inadequacy of tuberculosis facilities and services for Negroes. The records for 1941 show that the Negro population was approximately 4.7 per cent of the entire population of Pennsylvania while the number of Negroes in the three State Tuberculosis Sanatoria was approximately 12.7 per cent. Based on the mortality rates for tuberculosis among whites and colored there is still a relative inadequacy for the treatment of Negroes in the tuberculosis sanatoria.

The State Sanatoria, the State Tuberculosis Clinics, and the State Pneumothorax Center facilities are available to all persons eligible for diagnosis and treatment because of inability to meet the costs without regard to race or any other distinction except as to aliens.

Negroes are admitted to all State Tuberculosis Clinics. There are, however, clinics especially for Negroes at Harrisburg and Chester. At these cities Negroes may choose either the colored clinic or the regular clinic.

- V The Vital Statistics for Pennsylvania for the year 1941 have not yet been broken down as to color.

The death rates for tuberculosis of all kinds in 1939 and 1940 for white and colored were as follows:

In 1939 the total deaths were 4,235; annual rate per 100,000 population 42.9.

Deaths, among Negroes, 870--rate 185.4.

Deaths, among whites, 3,365--rate 35.8.

In 1940 the total deaths were 4,213; annual rate per 100,000 population 42.5.

Deaths, among all others (mostly Negroes) 872--rate 185.3.

Deaths, among whites, 3,341--rate 35.3.

- VI The high prevalence of tuberculosis in the colored race is due largely to economic causes--poor housing with overcrowding which favors spread of the disease which is definitely reflected in the higher rates in urban populations; lack of environmental facilities for outdoor exercise and physical recreation; nutritional deficiency which predisposes to the disease by lowering resistance. The case fatality rate in young Negroes is higher than in adults. This is believed by many to be due to an inherent lack of acquired immunity. However, the environmental factors which favor infection and spread also operate to prevent recovery.

Tuberculosis control measures adapted to colored communities are challenged by the most important factor or difficulty in health administration--lack of funds to promote education of these people as to the nature and prevention of this and other diseases and to carry on the social service required to improve the living conditions contributing to the spread of the disease. As adequate housing facilities, improvement in nutrition and other elements of good hygiene are long-time planning projects, the immediate demand is for more adequate hospital facilities to remove infective cases of tuberculosis from contact with the public.

Exhibit No. 7
Prepared by:

Dr. Edgar S. Everhart, Chief, Venereal Disease Division
Department of Health, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

1. Attached is a report covering the period January 1 to June 30, 1941 which shows the new cases of syphilis reported to this Department by hospitals and clinics that are not under the supervision of this Division; the new cases reported by private physicians and the cases reported by penal institutions. For your information, I am attaching a copy of the syphilis reporting regulations, which, as you will note, requires that syphilis of four years' duration or less or syphilis that presents open lesions shall be reported.

There is also enclosed a report of the new cases of syphilis and the new cases of gonorrhea that entered the clinics operated under the supervision of this Department from the period January 1 to June 30, 1941.

Please be informed that gonorrhea is not a reportable disease.

Attached are the latest statistics which this office has received covering the number of cases of syphilis detected among the whites and the Negroes in connection with the examination of registrants with the Selective Service and volunteers. This report covers the period from the beginning of the examinations through April 15, 1941.

2. The reports mentioned in Paragraph 1 furnish all the available information in this office.
3. The only statistics on serologic tests which are available covering the whites and the Negroes are those from the main laboratory of the Pennsylvania Department of Health. Attached is a copy of the report which has been prepared by that laboratory. As you will note, the tabulation is made for the Premarital, Prenatal and Selective Service cases. I have been informed by the Director of the laboratory that the report in regard to clinic specimens would be of little value inasmuch as the request cards are not completed by the physicians as to color.
4. The facilities and services for the control of venereal diseases in Pennsylvania are not adequate, and in my opinion the inadequacies are as applicable to whites as they are to Negroes. The Department of Health has established the following clinics for the treatment of Negroes. They are staffed by Negro personnel.

2405 Center Avenue, Pittsburgh
 1112 North Sixth Street, Harrisburg
 1908 West Third Street, Chester
 1137 S. Twentieth Street, Philadelphia
 1129 Callowhill Street, Philadelphia
 Twentieth and Berks Street, Philadelphia
 Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital, Phila.
 Mercy Hospital, Philadelphia

There is a large clinic conducted in the Graduate Hospital Philadelphia, and in the Passavant Hospital, Pittsburgh, in which the clinic patients are predominantly Negroes. All the clinics conducted by the Department are available for the treatment of Negroes.

5. I have been informed by the Bureau of Vital Statistics that you have been furnished a copy of the "Summary of Vital Statistics - 1940". On Pages 1176 and 1177 of this report the deaths from syphilis are recorded.

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VENEREAL DISEASE DIVISION PENNSYLVANIA DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH.

Jan. 1, to June 30, 1941 New cases Reported:

	(1) Hospitals & Clinics		Private Physicians		Penal Institutions							
	M-	F-	M*	F*	M-	F-	M*	F*	M-	F-	M*	F*
Primary	13	3	16	9	45	13	20	13	3	0	10	5
Secondary	2	11	8	8	43	37	27	48	4	5	16	15
Latent	58	60	95	102	112	118	67	123	99	14	380	62
Tertiary	6	2	4	6	7	3	2	0	0	0	0	0
Congenital	13	6	17	17	4	4	2	1	7	0	6	0
Total	92	82	140	142	211	175	118	185	113	19	412	82

M- White male; F- White Female; M* Negro male; F* Negro female.

Total Reported by Hosp.	456	Total white males	416
Total Reported by Pri. Phy.	639	Total Negro males	670
Total Reported by Penal Inst.	626	Total white females	276
Total	1771	Total Negro females	409

(1) Not reporting through tabulating Unit Total 1771

NEW CASES: (January 1, - June 30, 1941)

SYPHILIS	un-			GONORRHEA	un-		
	White	Colored	known		White	Colored	known
State Clinics	1,558	2,603	81	273	120	16	
Allied Clinics	668	1,091	10	22	11	1	
Total	2,226	3,694	91	295	131	17	443

Penna. Dept. of Health-Bureau of Laboratories-Philadelphia, Penna.

		Serologic Tests	
		Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1941	Dec. 1940 to Dec. 1941
		Premarital Prenatal	Selective Service
White Negative	11,194	6,820	White Negative 74,466
White Positive	243	163	White Doubtful 226
Colored Negative	457	113	White Positive 933
Colored Positive	73	22	Colored Negative 2,049
Doubtful	61	38	Colored Doubtful 41
Unsatisfactory	262	147	Colored Positive 435
			Unsatisfactory 722
Total	12,290	7,303	78,872

Prevalence of Syphilis Among Selective Service Registrants and Volunteers Through April 15, 1941

Total Examined	----- 58,982	Total Syphilis Detected	-- 1,470
Whites	-- 55,396	Whites	-- 846
Negroes	-- 3,586	Negroes	-- 624

At a meeting of the Advisory Health Board of the Pennsylvania Department of Health held on April 24, 1940, Rules and Regulations of the Department of Health and Advisory Health Board of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania adopted January 6, 1937, were annulled. The following Rules and Regulations to be substituted for those annulled were adopted:

RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND ADVISORY HEALTH BOARD OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA ADOPTED APRIL 24, 1940, REQUIRING THE REPORTING OF SYPHILIS.

1. Anyone suffering with syphilis, the duration of whose infection is less than four years, or who presents open syphilitic lesions of the skin or mucous membrane shall be considered as potentially endangering the public health, and it shall be the duty of this person to receive proper treatment for this infection.

2. Any physician who makes a diagnosis of syphilis as laid down in Paragraph 1 above shall make a report of such case direct to the Pennsylvania Department of Health, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, by number without name and address.

3. It shall be the duty of the attending physician to report to the Pennsylvania Department of Health, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, the name and address of any person who fails to report for treatment within a period of two weeks after the time designated unless the attending physician has knowledge of good and sufficient reason for delay.

4. It shall be the duty of the Pennsylvania Department of Health to provide the proper forms upon which such reports will be made.

Exhibit No. 8

Prepared by:

Dr. Paul Dodds, Director

Bureau of Maternal and Child Health-Harrisburg, Penna.

The work your Commission has undertaken is of the utmost importance, and I would consider it an honor to be of assistance in any way possible.

While it is encouraging to know that both maternal mortality and infant mortality in the United States as a whole continues to be reduced, it is significant that this reduction is not due in any part to the improvement in mortality rates of Negro women and Negro infants. Of course, the exceptionally high rates found in some of our southern states is in great part responsible for this bad showing, but no citizen of the Country can view with complacency the fact that the maternal mortality of Negro women is still two and one-half times that of white women, and that the infant mortality of Negro infants is nearly twice that of white infants.

Your Commission is especially interested in conditions in the State of Pennsylvania, and as you will see by the enclosed maternal death rates, there has been a remarkable improvement in the maternal death rates for Negroes.

In 1931 there were recorded 88 Negro maternal deaths while in 1940 there were only 53 Negro maternal deaths. During the same period, however, the white maternal deaths in the State have been reduced from 1,065 to 474. It is clear, then, that although the improvement in Negro maternal deaths has been outstanding it has not equaled the improvement found in white maternal deaths.

I need not emphasize to your commission the many enormous problems which confront any program for better health conditions for Negroes. To all of us the interdependence of health and education and financial status is self evident. Each of these is a great problem, but I think you will agree that in Pennsylvania, at least, we can expect the greatest health gains to follow the education of our people.

The influence of our public schools in health conditions of Negro and large parts of the white population has been of the greatest value, but I think we are losing an opportunity by not reaching the adult Negro population directly through their churches first of all and their fraternal organizations.

To make a health program for Negroes successful it is essential that the basis of the program be "What can the Negroes do for themselves?", rather than, what can be done for the Negroes? With a proper educational program over a period of years Negroes will no doubt carry on a health program of their own.

I will now try to answer each of your questions in order:

1. As explained to your Commission in a previous letter, the Maternal and Child Health Program of this Bureau is directed chiefly toward communities of the Fourth Class, where the Negro population is small, while your Commission is interested especially in the urban colored population.

Since in our clinics patients are accepted without regard to color, no record of this is kept, and therefore I have no figures to show how many Negro and white women were given prenatal care in 1941.

2. During the past 10 years 622 Negro and 7,146 white women in Pennsylvania died of causes directly due to pregnancy and child birth.

3. I am unable at this time to give the Pennsylvania infant mortality rates for Negroes and whites respectively during the last decade, but I can report that for the entire nation the death rate for Negro infants was the same in 1940 as in the previous year.

* * * * *

5. As compared with white mothers and pre-school children, some of the special handicaps of Negro mothers and pre-school children are:

- (a) Their financial status is often inferior.
- (b) They are often less perturbed by their financial status.
- (c) They are less apt to take their physical condition seriously; notoriously they laugh when they should be worried.
- (d) Often the reasons for preventive measures have not been explained to them.
- (e) They seek medical advice later in pregnancy than do white patients.
- (f) They are less apt to follow the physician's orders about when to get up, etc.

- (g) They are in great need of education along health lines.
- (h) They "seem to prefer white doctors and nurses to Negro doctors and nurses, even when the latter are available.
- (i) The number of Negro doctors and nurses available in Pennsylvania is much too small.

6. Suggested program for improvement of maternal care of Negroes:

- 1. Health education of Negro city dwellers:
 - (a) Through clinics
 - (b) Through churches
 - (c) Through fraternal organizations
 - (d) Public schools
- 2. Training larger numbers of Negro physicians and nurses.

MATERNAL DEATHS IN PENNSYLVANIA BY COLOR: 1931-1940, INCLUSIVE

Color	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	Total
White	1,065	952	859	862	811	753	705	584	555	474	7,146
Colored	88	73	57	69	72	77	71	57	58	53	662

Exhibit No. 9

Prepared by:

Howard L. Russell, Secretary

Department of Public Assistance-Harrisburg

I have delayed replying to your letter of June 8 pending completion of the tabulation of data secured from a survey of assistance households in December 1941. The data permit comparison of the two races from a public assistance stand-point. As you are aware, we make no race distinction in the granting of assistance. Consequently, we collect no statistics currently by race, and only occasionally do we make a survey to determine the number and characteristics of white or colored recipients.

I regret that information is not available to provide answers to any of the questions contained in your letter except Question 7 (a), but the survey of assistance households sheds some light on the relative dependency of whites versus Negroes and on a number of characteristics relative to dependency. The following tabulations represent race data obtained from preliminary State totals contained in the study, related in some instances to United States Census data:

		<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Per cent of persons receiving assistance to total persons of each race in general population - All types		3.6	19.5
Old-Age Assistance		1.0	2.0
Aid to Dependent Children		1.5	11.3
General Assistance		1.1	6.2
Per cent of persons receiving Old-Age Assistance to total population aged 65 and over		14.1	49.5
Per cent of General Assistance cases containing one or more employable persons to total General Assistance cases		44.9	38.2
Average number of years' education of adult assistance recipients		5.8	5.6
Per cent of adult assistance recipients rated as competitively employable - All Types		14.9	20.4
Old-Age Assistance		3.6	3.5
Aid to Dependent Children		12.9	14.7
General Assistance		30.2	31.4

Per cent distribution of unemployable assistance recipients
by reason for unemployability

<u>Reason for unemployability</u>	<u>Receiving Aid to</u> <u>Dependent Children</u>		<u>Receiving Gen-</u> <u>eral Assistance</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Age	0.1	3.1	6.7	8.3
Needed in the home	87.5	90.6	24.8	12.0
Permanent physical disability	3.9	4.0	34.5	31.2
Temporary physical disability	5.0	1.8	20.1	36.9
Mental deficiency	0.7	0.0	5.6	2.9
Lack of training	1.6	0.2	4.2	6.2
All other reasons	1.2	0.3	4.1	2.5

From the above tabulations you will note that dependency is much higher among the colored than among the whites; that 11.3% of all colored persons in the State are on the Aid to Dependent Children rolls; that approximately one-half of all Negroes aged 65 or over are receiving Old-Age Assistance; and that there is not a great deal of difference between the races in regard to education and employability of members on the assistance rolls.

The problem of dependency, especially as related to the aged and the children, is indeed much more pronounced among the Negroes, but I would not be inclined to look on it as a race problem. The characteristics of assistance numbers considerable more white than colored recipients under each one of the three assistance programs.

Our Department is cooperating with other welfare agencies and is doing a certain amount of work on its own accord to rehabilitate assistance groups whenever there seems a good prospect of refitting a member or members of the group to be partially or completely self-supporting. The work is admittedly in its infancy but progress is being made and you may be assured that it will continue to be made, toward establishing or reestablishing the self-reliance of as many as possible of the continuously or intermittently dependent group of both races.

Exhibit No.10

Prepared by:

Mrs. Ellen V. Schneebeli, State Chief
Welfare Programs Section, Federal Works Agency
Work Projects Administration for Pennsylvania

The W.P.A. Housekeeping Aide project is a logical development growing out of an urgent need of under-privileged people for assistance, together with the necessity for providing work for unskilled women. The services that the project undertook had been given in the past by more fortunate relatives or friends or by public or private Welfare Agencies. However, the great increase in unemployment that came with the Depression brought about a very difficult situation and thousands of needy families found themselves unable to secure assistance from the usual sources. The project not only gives employment to needy women, but gives relief in emergency situations to people in their own homes in a satisfactory and economical manner. It also demonstrates to the family better methods of home making and helps them to make the most of their meager resources.

The project furnishes to the needy free home assistance in general housework, care of children and elementary care of the sick. This work is to be rendered only where the homemaker is totally or partially incapacitated, where a temporary emergency makes such assistance necessary, in motherless homes, or where assistance is needed because of old age or chronic illness regardless of age, sex or race. We are not permitted to inquire into the income of the families serviced and the services of the project may be extended only to families certified as in need by recognized Welfare Agencies. W.P.A., Relief, Old Age and Blind Pension recipients are eligible for the assistance if so determined by a Referral Agency.

The Housekeeping Aide Program is closely related to the Programs of Public Health and Welfare Agencies and for this reason many of our Referrals are from those agencies. No recipient of the service rendered is permitted to reimburse the Project for same. The official sponsor in the State of Pennsylvania is the Department of Public Assistance and they provide materials and supplies necessary for training activities and material for uniforms for the Aides. The co-sponsors, who are usually County or Municipal Governments, provide space, equipment and utilities for training centers, and transportation in excess of amount ordinarily necessary.

The Housekeeping Aide Project has operated in the State of Pennsylvania since June, 1938 and during the year 1941 employed an average monthly number of 2200 aides and the ap-

proximate number of families and number of persons serviced during 1941 is as follows:

	No. of Families Serviced	No. of Persons Serviced
White	47,576	196,330
Colored	55,972	34,647

The personnel on our Center is made up of a unit supervisor, foreman, clerical help and field workers and only women are employed: and with the exception of unit supervisors are women assigned to us by the Division of Employment for persons certified by the Department of Public Assistance as eligible for employment, and therefore women of all ages are who are physically able to perform this kind of work are assigned. No discrimination is made as to race, age or education, but all women employed on House-keeping Aide must pass a physical examination.

The School Lunch Program was made available to the public and parochial schools in the latter part of 1936 on a County-wide basis.

The School Lunch Program of Pennsylvania was sponsored in 1940 by the State Department of Public Instruction. Each unit is co-sponsored by a civic group such as the Parent-Teacher Associations, Mothers' Clubs, School Board, Kiwanis Club, Lions Club, Veterans of Foreign Wars, American Legion and various Church societies.

The purpose of the Program is to prepare and serve school lunches to be furnished without cost to needy or under-nourished children in the public schools throughout Pennsylvania or in the parochial schools to those needy or under-nourished children who do not pay tuition. The work also includes the operation of gardens and the canning of garden, donated or surplus foodstuffs for use on the school lunches or for free distribution to the needy.

In order that the needy children may be served without social stigma, and that the program may reach other children suffering from malnutrition, but whose parents could make a contribution, the co-sponsors establish a common food fund which is used to supply the necessary fresh vegetables, milk, meats, etc., to be co-mingled with the surplus foods made available to the schools through the Surplus Marketing Administration and the Department of Public Assistance.

Since Federal funds are limited to payment for supervision and labor, local school boards or civic groups assume the financial responsibility for food, other material costs, and equipment for the units of the project operating under their jurisdiction. The labor personnel is certified from the relief rolls to WPA for employment. There is no discrimination in the placement of labor on this work - either by race, creed or color.

During the summer of 1941 there were 58 school Lunch Canning units operating in various parts of the State. The purpose of this activity was to can and preserve fruits and vegetables to be used on the School Lunch Program during the winter months. This program has been a great asset to the feeding program; adding greater variety and enabling the schools to serve more balanced lunches to the children. The co-sponsors in most instances, planted and cultivated gardens especially for the canning program. The Surplus Marketing Administration also supplied vegetables to the units at various times. The total amount of food preserved and canned is as follows:

21,117 quarts of fruits
20,876 quarts of vegetables

During the School Lunch Program served a total of 3,577,584 lunches of which 3,485,151 were served to white children; 81,971 to Negroes, and 1,309 to children of other races. We do not make a breakdown according to the sex or age of the recipients. However, we might add that our Program carries through from Kindergartens to High Schools.

Information concerning the need of a feeding program for all school children in the State of Penna., should be obtained from the State Department of Public Instruction.

Prepared by:

Phillip Wallis, Frank S. Brown, and Robert C. Taber of the
Municipal Court, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

"THE CARE OF NEGRO CHILDREN

"The care of Negro children has become, during the past 10 years, a problem of increasing concern to the Municipal Court of Philadelphia. The situation is one of such major importance, not only to the children in question, but also to the community as a whole, that prompt and effective action to remedy it is essential. Let us examine such information as is available as to the size and seriousness of the problem, and as to the means now available for meeting it.

"In the past 25 years there has been a sharp rise in the Negro population of Philadelphia. In the age group from 7 to 15 Negro children were 6% of the total school population in 1920, and this proportion has since risen to 10% in 1930, 12% in 1935, and 15.5% in 1940. During the period from 1930 to 1940, while the number of white children from 7 to 15 years of age in the Philadelphia schools decreased 13%, the number of Negro children increased 38%. In short, Philadelphia has been losing each year over 5,000 white children and gaining annually over 1,000 Negro children. Where in 1920 one child in 15 was Negro, today one child in 6 is.

"Having in mind the present numbers and the steady growth of the Negro population, let us next attempt to examine, from what information may now be obtained, the size and seriousness of the problem from the viewpoint of juvenile delinquency and dependency.

"The total number of delinquent children in Philadelphia in 1920 was 4270; in 1930, 6280; in 1935, 4704, and in 1940, 3513. In the same years these figures included delinquent Negro children as follows: 1920, 676; 1930, 1446; 1935, 1742; 1940, 1513. In other words, Negroes constituted in 1920 16% of all juvenile delinquency cases; in 1930, 23%; in 1935, 37%, and in 1940, 43%. It will also be observed that, for instance, in 1940 when Negro children were 15.5% of the total school population, Negro juvenile delinquency was 43% of all juvenile delinquency cases, or, in other words, the Negro delinquency rate was almost three times the average delinquency rate, and was four times the delinquency rate among white children alone. What is more, Negro children were involved in 51% of the more serious offences.

"The ratio of delinquency has varied widely; for instance, in 1920 43 Negro children of the ages 7 to 15 were arrested out of every 1000 Negro children of these ages. This number increased to 48 in 1930, declined to 43 in 1932, reached the all time high of 50 in 1934, and has since declined again to 37 in 1940.

"The problem caused by the disproportionate increase in Negro cases is further reflected in the number of Negro children requiring foster home care or institutional placement. In 1930 3% of all delinquent cases were committed to agencies or individuals, and half of these cases were Negroes. In 1940 again 3% of all delinquent cases were committed to agencies or individuals, but the Negro proportion had increased to 75%.

"In 1930 7% of all delinquent cases were committed to institutions and of that number 24% were Negroes. In 1940 9% of all delinquent cases were committed to institutions, and of that number the proportion of Negroes had increased to 45%. The following table shows not only a proportionate, but an actual increase in the number of Negro children requiring foster home or institutional placement.

"Comparison of Disposition of Juvenile Delinquency Cases (under 16 years of age) for the years 1940* and 1930** and a

"Comparison of Cases and Percentage of Cases in which Negroes were involved in the Years of 1940 and 1930.

	Total No. of Cases disposed of in		No. of Negroes Involved in Cases Disposed of in		Percentage of Cases in which Negroes were Involved	
	1940	1930	1940	1930	1940	1930
Children dismissed and not remaining under supervision of the Court	2800	5517	1225	1238	44%	22%
Children remaining under supervision of the Court	954	936	526	401	55%	43%
Children committed to Agencies or Individuals	149	231	111	107	74%	46%
Children committed to institutions and referred without commitment to parole officers	432	600	195	128	45%	21%
Children referred to other courts and cases in which restitution or reparation was ordered	22	233	6	46	27%	20%
	<u>4357</u>	<u>7517</u>	<u>2063</u>	<u>1920</u>		

*1940 figures - Table 25, page 107
 **1930 " - " 17, " 34.

"In cases involving dependency, neglect, custody and mental defect, the proportion of Negroes (of the ages of 7 to 15) is also disproportionately high, as compared with the percentage of white children, but here the situation is not as much out of line as in delinquency cases. For example, in 1920 when 6% of the children (between 7 and 15) were Negro, 10% of the cases of dependency, neglect and custody involved Negroes. In 1930, when the Negro juvenile population was 10% of the whole, 24% of these cases involved Negroes. In 1935 the Negro population was 12% and the Negro dependency, etc., cases were 22%; and in 1940 when the Negro population was 15.5% of the total, the Negro cases were 27% of all dependency, etc., cases. While new applications in dependency cases have decreased from 4280 in 1931 to 1981 in 1940, a decrease of 54%, and while there was a substantial decrease in the total number of Negro cases over the same period, nevertheless Negro cases were 27% of the total in 1940 as compared to 24% in 1930.

"The disproportionate share of Negro children involved in delinquency and dependency cases reflects certain obvious factors and, no doubt, is influenced by others which only complete analysis will disclose. In the first place, the Negro family suffers in general from widespread unemployment, as is evidenced by the fact that, despite the shortage of labor in certain fields in the present emergency, industry is only now beginning to draw upon the ranks of Negro labor. In the second place, during the past 20 years there has been a heavy migration of Negroes from the south to the north. The change from a simple rural community to a complex city, with a higher tempo of living, is bound to be productive of social difficulties, and this tendency is accentuated by the lack of job opportunities. The figures further reflect the lack of satisfactory recreation and housing facilities and other community resources for the Negro, and this is clearly borne out by the fact that 68% of the Negro boys who were held for court were repeaters as opposed to 51% of the white boys.

"What community resources are available to meet these urgent needs? Training schools for children such as Sleighton Farms and Glen Hills, frequently have no vacancies. On occasion children who have been committed to training schools have been held as long as 3 months in the House of detention pending admission. This constitutes a very unwholesome situation since the available facilities do not permit segregation of those committed from those who are awaiting hearing. The lack of resources further means that children who should be committed to a training school at the time when they would be most responsive to the treatment which it would provide, must necessarily be placed, as a matter of expediency, in foster homes. That these children do not lend themselves to placement in foster homes is shown by the large turnover in these cases, together with the ex-

cessive run-aways. The result is that when a child eventually reaches the training school he is more calloused and less susceptible to a constructive experience, by virtue of having become more deeply entrenched in a delinquent pattern.

"With the exception of the House of the Holy Child, which has recently expanded its foster care service, there have been few changes which have strengthened the available services for Negro children. The child care agencies who place Negro children in large numbers are in general totally inadequate in staff and in supervision. In no small measure this situation is due to lack of funds. For instance, upon the invitation of the Bureau of Colored Children, the Council of Social Agencies recently made a thorough study of that agency. Its report showed the need for immediate revamping of program and personnel. Nevertheless, the Agency was not in a position to lift itself by its own boot-straps, and cannot hope to secure additional State funds until it has improved its services, and cannot improve its services without additional funds.

"The delay in adequately providing for the care of Negro children is costing Philadelphia thousands of dollars. But more important, it is failing to rehabilitate those who would respond to sound treatment if appropriate services were available. Without such a survey of needs and resources **sound planning to correct existing inadequacies** and provide for the future becomes impossible. Such a survey might conceivably indicate that the decrease of cases involving white children may make available for Negro children some of the services originally established for white children. Possibly grants from Foundations established for the advancement of the Negro, Public Works Administration funds for buildings, or State or local funds might be forthcoming. But the problem is too large for solution either by the Court or by any single Agency. What is needed, and immediately, is a joint and thorough study of this entire problem, which may well be considered today the most serious single problem in the field of child care."

Exhibit No. 12

Prepared by:

Judge Ralph H. Smith, Judge Quarter Sessions
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

THERE IS NO NEGRO CRIME PROBLEM

The Negro criminal, as a human being, is basically no different than any other human being whose behavior has brought him into conflict with the accepted mores of the day as incorporated in the law. Human nature recognizes very little fundamental differences as result of variations in color. In some respects the Negro has a distinct advantage over many of his contemporaries of lesser pigmentation because of certain attitudes which he has displayed to such an extent and with such frequency that they are often referred to as "racial characteristics". Anyone engaged in law enforcement will do well to bear them in mind when appraising behavior, imposing restraints or planning future behavior program.

The Negro comes to grips with the realities of life very quickly. He acquires a minimum of satisfaction when the purely physical necessities for food, clothing, and shelter have been met. The "inevitables" of birth, health, sickness and death he accepts philosophically because of a deep and natural spiritual community born of a simple faith in God and a native willingness to abide his will. Thus it is that the Negro sings first of his love of God and the search for eternal salvation and next of home and the close ties of "his people". The every ready chuckle that bespeaks a poignant humor is close kin to the simplicity and casualness which sometimes characterize his social customs or his ignoring them. Warm hearted, his sensitive nature is easily hurt. Offense is quickly taken and speedily forgiven. While he would not normally engage in physical violence, the Negro is a courageous tough fighter who loves his country and shrinks from no personal danger.

With these substantial assets then the Negro does nevertheless get himself in trouble with the law even as the rest of his fellow men. The reasons for his criminal conduct are the same that explain any other man's "fall from grace."

Economic pressure makes criminals of all kinds. Take a normal human being of average intelligence and even moderate emotional stability. Deny him sufficient food - Fail to give him work where he can earn money - Keep him in idleness. What are the results? That individual sooner or later becomes a loafer and idler - a pool-room habitue. Starve him long enough and he will "break in and steal". As a "thief in the night" he will burglarize and rob. Many a murder has needed no more complex motive than the gnawing hunger of an empty stomach. Add to the lack of work opportunity a burning sense of injustice born of discrimination against him as a Negro. Now

you see why occasionally in some localities the percentage of law violations by Negroes temporarily rises out of proportion to those of other racial groups. The Negro is not alone. Other groups have gone through this same thing. The "hunkies" - "the dumb Slovaks" - "the shanty Irish" - "the dirty Kikes" - "the yellow dogs" - all those and many more have felt the cruel lash of group intolerance that doubled the force of the normal economic pressures and drove them into the slums and ghettos of the large cities and "across the tracks" to the "wrong side of town" in the smaller towns and villages.

This problem of housing is most important. You can't take human beings of any color, crowd them into dirty hovels with little sanitation and no conveniences, deprive them of heat and clean air, cramp them together like animals regardless of sex and age and expect to get law abiding citizens. Such conditions breed lawlessness. The annual harvest is a new crop of prostitutes, thieves, petty racketeers and a general **disrespect** for the laws of a social order that has no better intelligence than to allow such districts to exist. It is interesting to note in connection with the new housing projects throughout the United States, both public and private, that the small percentage of law violations among those enjoying these advantages of physical well being in decent home conditions directly reflects the civilizing influence of these externals.

Ignorance and crime are old pals. Lack of educational opportunity with its usual out-cropping of intolerance, stupidity, mistrust, and failure to appreciate any essentials of our system accounts for much crime. Education brings a sense of discrimination, develops a sense of values and a knowledge of the responsibilities of the citizen. One does not need a college degree or a fraternity pin to become law-abiding but everything beyond the basic training of the three "R's" is distinctly an asset. Here education is taken to embrace all of the true "leading out" process which goes into the development of character. He is not to be confused with mere "book learning" which may only develop an educated scoundrel.

There are many other factors that convert the average human being into an enemy of society. Passion - envy, jealousy-greed - all these win the normal person into paths of violence and law violation. They are common to humanity and not the peculiar property of any race.

The War and the emotional tension that go with it have already brought new problems in juvenile delinquency, control of venereal diseases and the detection and control of sex crimes. There is every reason to believe that the war's end will bring with it more problems as with the sudden pressure released men go out on emotional sprees seeking compensation for the long disciplined months of self denial and the brutal hardships of "all-out" war.

The crime problem is as universal as mankind. It is not peculiar to any race, group or sect. Occasionally due to local conditions, national, racial or religious customs the emphasis may be placed one place rather than another. There are no criminal types - The Lombrosian theory has long since been discarded. Each criminal is an individual. For his conduct there is an explanation. Sometimes it is hidden deep in his family history or the story of his neighborhood environment. His "IQ" or lack of emotional stability may furnish the clue. Again some organic or psychological defect may supply the answer to the misconduct. For every crime "there's a reason." It is the task of the law enforcement agency to search out that reason.

Every case presents four questions for the Court:

1. Who committed the crime?
2. Why did he commit it?
3. What shall be done to him?
4. What can be done for him?

Before the court can adequately answer these questions it is essential that the court at the time of final disposition of the case have available the kind of information contained in the Pre-Sentence and Behavior Clinic Reports now in use in Allegheny County. The result of careful investigation, these reports give the sentencing judge, whenever it deems it necessary, the following information concerning the individual criminal:

1. Family history.
2. Education and school record.
3. Work record.
4. Neighborhood environment.
5. Marital history.
6. Story of the crime.
7. The Behavior Clinic Report which contains:
 - a) Medical and health history and results of physical examination.
 - b) Psychological examination to determine mental age and rating.
 - c) Psychiatric examination to determine mental health and emotional stability.
8. Record of prior conviction.
9. Investigator's recommendations.

In this way the court is able to approach the disposition of case as would a physician called upon to diagnose a physical condition. The study becomes objective. The possibilities of prejudice, emotional bias, and "snap judgment" are, at least, minimized. The offender is treated not as a "Negro" or a "white" but as a human being. If his racial history indicates preconceived behavior attitudes these are given only the same weight a doctor, in prescribing treatment, would give to the known predilection or susceptibility of the race to certain diseases.

The disposition of cases in court is only a small part of the problem facing society. When a case reaches court it is evidence that crime prevention methods have been negligible or absent, that the difficulty has reached an acute stage and that frequently drastic action is the only remedy.

Society by neglect creates crime producing conditions. Some day an enlightened social order will take the economical method of a sound crime prevention program which basically will include:

1. Educational opportunity for all with mental capacity according to their natural or acquired aptitude and skills. This education will include development of a sense of individual responsibility.
2. Economic opportunity for all persons physically able to maintain themselves by dint of their own effort.
3. Abolition of slums and the substitution of decent housing for all men, women and children.
4. Development of health program that will promote individual health and community welfare.
5. Development of recreation, adult education and leisure time activities that will create sense of social community and individual worth.
6. Training in appreciation of our heritage as free men and the discharge of the ordinary responsibilities of every day citizenship.
7. Overhauling of court procedure that will eliminate useless delays, discard outworn technicalities and utilize the latest and least scientific knowledge available.
8. Better co-ordination of the prison and other custodial institutions in interests of more scientific classification, greater re-habilitation and more adequate protection to society.
9. Continued development of Parole System for which New Pennsylvania Parole Act gives such a splendid beginning.

This may sound fantastic or foolishly idealistic. As a matter of fact it is hard boiled realism. Along this path lies the only way out. Not the least of its advantages is the likely economy of such a program. Our great prisons and institutions for delinquents, mental deficient, and the insane are the smaller part of our crime cost which each year mounts to untold millions of dollars loss to our citizens to say nothing of the tragic loss and waste of humans who could be salvaged. Some day we will believe it important to prevent this waste. Our human scrap heap is far too great.

Exhibit No. 13

Prepared by:

Elin A. E. Palmquist, Executive Secretary
The Philadelphia Federation of Churches

1. What should the Church do to better conditions among the Colored urban people?

The respective denominations working among Negro peoples through their church leaders and through pastors of the several groups, should be brought together and unitedly should face the responsibility that rests upon the Church. They should then work out plans for the solving of the problem. My information leads me to believe that such conferences would result in a more serious effort to train the ministers for their work. It would also make it more difficult for the maverick and often disreputable, so-called churches. They would find also a need for a more thoroughly organized work of religious education.

2. What should the citizens and the state do to improve this condition?

They should remove all economic barriers if possible. That is, the colored man should have an equal opportunity with his white brother, providing he had equal capacities. No doors should be closed to him because of his color. This requires legal action upon the part of the state. As the above improvements are made, crime and its kindred evils would be reduced. The state should do much to improve the housing conditions which is one of the root evils of crime and disease.

All of the above is rather trite, but I am sure it is true.

Exhibit No. 14

Prepared by:

Leon Thomas Stern, Secretary and Director of Research
Pennsylvania Committee on Penal Affairs of the
Public Charities Association

I was very much interested in the copy of the outline you sent me. I think the points suggested are all well taken. My contribution, of course, would concern the section of delinquency and crime only. I am very glad your Committee faces the matter squarely and objectively, and that it recognizes there is a higher rate of Negro violations. I agree with you that the explanation is a sociological one and not a biological one and that our methods of dealing with the Negro offender need correction and change. Most scientific persons having a knowledge of the problem, either through study of the situation or through work with Negroes, would agree that crime among Negroes is largely a cultural situation. Personally, I am inclined to feel strongly that it is a social situation. Negroes are not innately more criminal than other races. They are at so social a disadvantage that we can expect Negroes to have a higher proportion among their numbers in a delinquency group than do other less disadvantaged racial or cultural groups.

We can compare the Negro situation with that of the adult immigrants of the white race. These do not have an excessive number of criminals among their numbers, but the delinquency rate among American-born children of foreign-born parents is high. These groups represent a social complex of a different order than that found among Negroes. The increase in delinquency among all children in war time shows that disruptive social life is an all powerful factor in delinquency among children.

It is tragically true that adult Negro offenders and the children and young delinquents among their number do not have facilities for their care and treatment that they should have. There is segregation of a sort in the training schools, correctional institutions and penal institutions. The segregated plan of treatment operates whether we have Negroes in separate institutions or Negroes in the institutions with whites. Sometimes the segregation is actually physical, with the Negroes in separate institutions, or in separate cell blocks, or in the case of juveniles, Negroes are housed on separate floors. Sometimes the segregation is psychological with a differential in favor of the white group. The policy, for example, of some of our training schools refusing facilities to Negroes unless there are more than enough facilities for white children is revolting. With this program of considering white children and adults first must needs go a psychological differential of treatment, when the Negroes are admitted to institutions in which white adults

and children are housed. One should examine this situation objectively to discover whether the program of treatment is one that the community wishes, or whether it is based on the racial philosophy of the administrator, the community assenting. For example, one administrator told me that the Negro should be treated in separate institutions, and dealt with only by white people, and that Negroes could never take part in a correctional program as officers or officials, even for their own group. I think that this is an unfortunate point of view. Of course, in order to meet that situation the Negro group must show, as I am sure they can, that they have persons with professional ability in treatment programs who can give the kind of service the State needs.

Reading your material suggests to me that the Negro problem might well be approached from two angles,--crime among adult Negroes and delinquency among Negro children.

I am interested in the questions raised on page 5 of your outline, as to whether legislation will solve what are called "discriminatory practices" in this report. Your temporary commission performed a valuable service in bringing out the facts, but some permanent service is needed. However, neither bringing out facts nor legislation will bring a change in the situation; some permanent service is needed. The Department of Welfare is logically the Department to which we could look for aid and assistance. As far as I am concerned, I do not know what concern the Bureau of Community Service is exercising at this time through its Negro consultant in the Department of Welfare. It might be suggested that the Bureau of Community Service be asked to interest itself in this problem with the aid of a strong citizen committee. I would suggest a mixed group since the problem is one that concerns not only Negroes but whites. If there is a high rate of Negro criminality, it certainly concerns both groups. If Negroes do not get even-handed justice and do not have adequate facilities for treatment, it concerns both groups. My feeling is that such service should be of a permanent nature. To members of the Committee could be brought the problems that concern us all. If the Department of Welfare could not deal with the problem, other ways should be devised for getting a service and trying in a citizen group appointed with some official status which would be of the greatest help in dealing with the situation on a continuing basis.

One problem that needs immediate attack is the problem of the lack of facilities for the care of Negro children, either institutional or foster home care,--for those in difficulty with the law or merely socially and economically handicapped. Since the economic situation feeds into the delinquency situation, I think that that problem should be considered as a whole.

* * * * *

If there is a delinquency and crime differential between Negroes and whites, it is certainly socially conditioned or so augmented by social factors that the racial factors are not governing. Since we are confronted with a practical situation and not a problem of race theory, it would be helpful if we could have the proper state department watch developments in all parts of the state and help in the improvement of the situation, both as to an examination of the crime and delinquency problem among Negroes and as to its sound and effective treatment on a democratic basis of even-handed justice, conserving the fundamental rights of a disadvantaged group. I believe that such a permanent body will aid Negroes in their own efforts toward a solution of their own problems and help to advance cooperation to the same end between Negroes and whites.

Exhibit No. 15
Prepared by:
Judge Sara M. Seffel
Court of Common Pleas - Pittsburgh

It is a fact established by research and study on the part of sociologists and penologists that crime begins in the delinquency of young children, increases in the years of adolescence and reaches its high point in the vigorous years of early manhood. It is therefore important to attack crime at its source in the person of youth. Unless this is done, there can be no diminution in an annual crime bill of more than sixteen billion dollars and there will be no rehabilitation of potentially good citizens. To build model prisons or penitentiaries to house adult offenders does not solve the problem.

Speaking as one who has sat in a Juvenile Court and who has also presided over a court in which the problems of the marital relationship are heard, certain conclusions are inevitable as to the factors that underlie delinquency. The cases are many and varied. The whole may be likened to a patchwork quilt, with here a patch of orange, red, yellow, green, blue, standing out in striking contrast to the others that surround it. To say which is the dominant factor is difficult, for woven together they constitute the fabric and woof. My own analysis and study lead to the conclusion that the breakdown of the home, inability of the parents to discipline and train their children, refusal to accept the responsibilities of family life, contribute perhaps more than any other factor to the ultimate delinquency of children - particularly young children.

There are four basic influences that shape and mold a child: the home, the neighborhood, the school, and the church.

A child needs the anchoring influence of a home. He needs love, sympathy and understanding as much as nourishing food. He needs the guidance not only of one parent, but of both father and mother. A child is born into the world a biological organism. It first contacts and knows its mother and the members of its family. This influence of the home begins at birth and continues throughout life until the child is launched on his own career, fully equipped mentally, spiritually and physically to care for himself. The first seven years of the child's life are very important. These are the years when patterns are set and habits are formed. Many a delinquency problem that manifests itself in the period of adolescence can be traced back to lack of training or improper discipline in childhood. The child who is

constantly nagged and treated as inferior develops an inferiority complex which often seeks outlet in the adventures of the gang. The child who is tied to his mother's apron strings, in whom initiative and self-confidence are not developed, is headed for trouble. The over-indulged child who has never been taught self control, who gets his own way by bullying and tantrums, may become the murdered of tomorrow. Emotional self control is as essential as mental and spiritual discipline.

Thus it becomes apparent that everything possible must be done to stabilize the home, to encourage better and finer parenthood, that every child may be assured the birthright of a sound mind in a sound body, that love and understanding will wisely guide the formation of character. This is denied many children.

The disintegration of the family is in itself the result of many causes. Homes in which the standard of living is very low, with the entire family, father, mother and many children, crowded into one or two rooms, are not conducive to fine living. The pinch of economic distress, the lack of a living wage, may be so great that undernourished children are often encouraged and abetted by their elders to steal and beg. The occupation of tenement dwellings that are not fit for human habitation, without any of the modern facilities for sanitation and comfort, is a blot on society. So long as society permits slums to exist it will have to pay the cost in greater crime bills.

Much remains to be done in clearing out the rat-hole tenement slum districts, with the vicious influence of the adult gangster and corrupt politician. The breakdown of the home due to divorce, which causes the child to reside with one parent or the other from time to time, leaves its scar on the child. Homes in which both parents work, or in which a widowed mother supports the family, result in children being left from early morning until evening without responsible adult care. Not only are these children not properly fed, but there is no supervision whatsoever of their free time activities. They tend to become rebellious and lawless, self-opinionated and wild.

The breeding of children by parents who are insane or mentally deficient is another factor in delinquency and crime that society has refused to recognize or act against. A child committed to Polk has to wait years before he can be admitted. Laurelton and similar institutions for delinquent girls of child-bearing age are crowded to capacity. This is conclusive testimony of the danger to society in parenthood that is not mentally and physically sound.

If delinquency and crime are to be prevented, we have to begin even before the child is born. That means there must be adequate training and preparation for parenthood and the responsibilities of family life. The wise parent who either innately or because of specific training has knowledge of the principles of mental hygiene and applies these to behavior problems, is making a true contribution to society. The modern machine age, with its complexity of life, freedom of movement, late hours, movies, jazz halls, and automobiles, weighs against the influence of the home. Too many parents are content to allow the school to do the whole job, unwilling to make any effort to discipline or train the child. I recall an occasion when a two-hundred-pound colored woman came into Juvenile Court, dragging a little boy of seven, who was kicking and screaming at her heels, and she lamenting, "That child sho' is incorrigible."

As the child grows older he moves out from the shelter and confines of the home into the neighborhood. Here he contacts those influences that shape and mold the community life. They may be vicious, degenerate, corrupt - or they may be healthy, fine, inspiring. There is need for breathing spots and adequate playgrounds and recreational facilities in the more congested areas of the City and County. Society has a responsibility in improving neighborhoods that are low in standards and basically incorrupt.

In his play, "Dead End," which was later made into a movie, Elmer Rice illustrates well the influence of slum environment on young children. I know from personal experience that the conclusions that he so dramatically presents are not exaggerated. I have seen a map of Allegheny County plotted to show the areas of greatest delinquency, and another map of the County plotted to show the slum areas. If superimposed the two would coincide.

As a child becomes still older, he comes into the school. Many a child acquires in the school the only training that equips him for life. The schools are doing and have done a splendid job, but they cannot bear the whole load. It is not reasonable to ask this. The school should merely be asked to supplement and to reenforce the discipline and the training that originate in the home. There are certain causes of delinquency that in my judgment are peculiarly the problem of the school, to wit, truancy. Too much cannot be said against lax enforcement of attendance laws. The absence of a child from school should be checked within twenty-four hours, for habitual truancy becomes an ingrained habit that leads ultimately to the commission of more serious offenses against society. Cooperation of the school and home is essential. The school visitor can do a splendid piece of work in this field. The cause of truancy must be found.

The child's sense of adventure, his lack of integration and proper adjustment in the particular school, often faulty hearing, lack of understanding on the part of a given teacher, low mental ability, brutal discrimination on the part of other children - all contribute to drive the child from school. A more enlightened understanding and procedure in dealing with truancy must be developed. That is primarily the job of the school - not of the judge nor Juvenile Court.

At the same time, as the child is growing in knowledge and power, he should be developing spiritually. That is the job of the home and the church. Effective religious instruction is essential in these times of crisis more than ever. Living as we do in a complex machine civilization, the child must be grounded and have that moral stability which enables him to think his way through a difficult situation and come to the right conclusion because of the strong innate sense of what is right and what is wrong. That is where spiritual training speaks.

We are here concerned primarily with conditions as they affect the urban colored population. Any study of Juvenile Court records discloses that there is considerable delinquency both among the younger and the older colored children. That colored youth is willing to accept responsibility for members of its group is evidenced by the splendid work that has been done at Hill City. There a small group of serious-minded young people sit in judgment on the petty thievery and delinquencies of children in that area. Acting as big brothers, they have reduced crime in the Hill District considerably.

Delinquency and crime among the colored population are compositely the result of all the factors that have been emphasized above. It is in part also the result of the racial inequality that still persists in a land of democracy. The denial of jobs to high school graduates, merely because they are colored, the denial of opportunity to work in defense industries, unequal opportunities for service in army, navy, and air force, create a resentment and bitterness that frequently result in outbursts of crime such as recently swept the Harlem District in New York. The denial to colored families of proper homes in which to live, the high cost of rentals in slum dwellings, have a distinct part in the picture that must be faced by intelligent citizens - particularly in these times when we are fighting a war for freedom and equality of peoples everywhere, regardless of color. A beginning has been made in the housing projects that have been built in the Hill District. That, however, has only scratched the surface. The solution lies in a recognition that racial equality is a basic principle in a true working democracy.

Exhibit No. 16

Prepared by:

W. B. McKenna, Acting Director
Inter-Agency Council For Youth
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

A rising juvenile delinquency rate is one social phenomena which frequently stimulates communities, small and large, to attempt intelligent social action. Therefore, when one finds today that approximately half of the juvenile arrests of boys under sixteen years of age in Philadelphia are Negro, with only about one-seventh of the child population of this race, one recognizes this as a cogent argument supporting any steps that may be taken to improve the status of the Negro population in their city.

The following table, based on cases of boys under 16 years appearing for preliminary hearings at the House of Detention, indicates the seriousness of the situation with regard to Negro juvenile delinquency in Philadelphia. While the number of cases* of Negroes is slightly larger than the total number of white cases, the number of individual Negro boys is approximately 46% of the total number of individual boys. The significance of this is simply that among the Negro groups there is a larger proportion of boys who get into trouble more than once. The high rate of Negro cases held for court and commitments to institutions is further indication of the seriousness of the problem.

	1940				1941			
	<u>W</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>%</u>
No. Arrests	1702	51.9	1583	48.1	1842	49.7	1865	50.4
No. Individuals	1538	56.9	1164	43.1	1569	53.4	1367	46.6
No. Families	1437	56.6	1099	43.4	1457	53.5	1257	46.5
Cases Ad-justed	1188	54.2	1003	45.8	1220	52.6	1101	47.4
Cases Court	514	47.4	570	52.6	622	44.9	764	55.1
Committed	116	38.5	185	61.5	142	42.4	193	57.6

The factors that are behind this situation have been dealt with elsewhere (booklet, "What Makes Johnny Bad?") and need not be discussed at great length here. Suffice to say that the poor cultural heritage, the low economic status, the inadequate housing of the Philadelphia Negro, and the lack of sufficient health and recreational facilities provided for him all play a part in contributing to the high delinquency rate.

The inference of all this is that if Negro delinquency is to be measurably reduced, the attack on it must be on a broad basis and must include a total readjustment of the

-Negro's status in the city. There are, however, some more immediate aspects of the problem that should be considered.

In the first place, there is the matter of resources for treating juvenile delinquents. The Juvenile Court, in dealing with individual children appearing before it, can do one of a number of things: it can commit to an institution, place on probation, commit to an agency for private, foster home placement or refer to another agency for special help. It is well known that the training schools at Glen Mills and Sleighton Farms frequently have no vacancies, and on occasion children who have been committed to these institutions have been held at the House of Detention as long as three months pending admission. The probation office of the Court is understaffed and at least one study has shown that the child care agencies which place Negro children in large numbers are inadequate in staff and in supervision. And, finally, the private agencies equipped to offer help to juvenile delinquents on a case work or volunteer "Big Brother" basis are too few in number to offer such help at all widely.

Perhaps even more important than treatment facilities are resources for diagnosing and dealing with pre-delinquent behavior. The home, the school, and the recreation center all have a part to play in this. Yet there has been little if any attempt made to help Negro parents, most of whom are themselves having a difficult time learning to adjust to a Northern city environment, to understand and cope with behavior problems as they show up in their children. The schools, too, have a special responsibility. It is the rare teacher who is able at the present time to offer constructive guidance and help to the "difficult" child in her classroom, and the existing number of trained Home and School Visitors is too small to offer much assistance. The same thing is true of the recreation agencies, many of which, though located in heavily populated Negro areas, impose restrictions of one kind or another on Negro neighbors.

The part that recreation agencies play in this whole situation deserves further serious consideration. A five year study now being completed by the Inter-Agency Council for Youth indicates that by and large no more than 30% of delinquent children living in the areas of the city's settlements, boys' clubs, YMCA's, etc., have ever made use of these agencies. The other 70% have never availed themselves of these facilities. We may only surmise the reasons for this, but one study has been shown that at least two-thirds of a sampling of delinquent boys who had attended recreation centers at some time or other had while attending exhibited behavior indicative of inability to get along satisfactorily with either other children or with adults.

In all too many cases it has been found that a child joins up at a center, gets into difficulty with leaders or play-mates there, drops out of the center or is expelled, (or may, in many cases, even continue to attend) and at a later date, is arrested. This is not to imply that there is any cause-and-effect relationship between these events; it does seem to signify, however, that if the leader at the center were sufficiently skilled to do something about the behavior at the time it first manifests itself (just as the teacher could do something about that behavior in the school setting) then an appreciable decrease in delinquency might be brought about.

Though recreation agencies are limited in what they can do with the specific individual delinquent, their contribution to the whole area of delinquency prevention must not therefore be disregarded. The long-run influence of a settlement house, a city recreation center, or a boys' club on the community in which it is located may be of tremendous value. Through offering opportunities to participate in pleasurable, educational, democratically controlled activities such a center can, over a period of years, introduce new cultural standards and values into the most difficult of neighborhoods. This is true "crime prevention", but its results are hard to measure simply because no one can say with any degree of certainty that crimes that were never committed would have been committed if such-and-such an agency had not been in existence.

In conclusion, then, we may say that some of the immediate steps Philadelphia can and should take if it wishes to do something about Negro juvenile delinquency are (1) to increase and improve its services for the treatment of the Negro child offender, (2) to introduce into the schools a personnel better qualified to deal with delinquent behavior in general and with Negro children in particular, (3) to strengthen its existing recreational facilities and leadership and (4) to provide more facilities and new, trained leadership in those areas now sadly deprived of any recreational outlets. None of these steps in themselves will eliminate the problem of Negro juvenile delinquency, but all of them together should have an appreciable effect on it.

* In counting "cases" each child is counted separately and as many times as he was dealt with by the Court on a new delinquency charge in a case disposed of during the year.

Exhibit No. 17

Prepared by:

Thomas A. Meryweather, Executive Director
Crime Prevention Association of Philadelphia

Statement Concerning Youth Crime Among Negroes in Philadelphia

I wish to quote from two studies which were prepared under the direction of the Crime Prevention Association and from a later statement prepared by personnel of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia:-

1. A pamphlet was prepared by this Association in 1932, entitled "Older Boys and Crime in Philadelphia". This was a study of youth crime conditions and causes. The following statement occurs on pages 19 and 20 and pertains to youths committed to prison:

"The Worst Wards. It is natural to ask the question: 'From what parts of Philadelphia do these "older boys" come?' Using the addresses at the date of commitments it was found that the highest number of commitments were from the following five wards:

<u>Ward</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>Total</u>
7th . . .	34	223	257
20th . . .	49	123	172
30th . . .	30	121	151
36th . . .	64	73	137
38th . . .	111	11	122
	<u>288</u>	<u>551</u>	<u>839</u>

These wards have within their borders only about 9 per cent. of the city's population, yet from them have come 21 per cent. of the city's "older boy" criminals.

These facts call for an explanation. For that reason an environmental survey was made in each neighborhood to determine the causes that might be responsible for this situation. A summary of those studies shows that in each ward were to be found the following destructive forces: (1) High density of population and bad housing; (2) lack of supervised recreation; (3) lack of parental control in pool rooms and cigar stores, and (6) ready possession of weapons.

In those of the five wards where Negroes predominated there is especially a woeful lack of recreation for the young people of that race.

"Color. While the Negro population of Philadelphia is only about 11.3 per cent. of the total, Negro "older boy" offenders number 48 per cent. of the total. It will be seen from the figures regarding the worst wards that only in one ward does the number of white boys exceed the number of Negro boys. There may be many reasons for this situation, though the six factors found to be common to the five wards are probably the root evil."

I still agree with these findings.

2. In 1938 a WPA Project was authorized, sponsored by the Crime Prevention Association and the Crime Prevention Division of the Bureau of Police. The findings of this are in part quoted below. The figures refer to arrests, not commitments:

"Race. Of 29,587 older boys arrested from 1934 - 1937 inclusive, 22,284 were white and 7,295, or 33 per cent. were Negro. In this connection it should be noted that Negroes number approximately but 13 percent. of the City's population."

A study of this data shows that in some offenses the Negro numbers over 50 per cent. of those arrested, and that there had been an increase in delinquency among older Negro boys during these four years. To those who have been in touch with the problem, the reason for this is definite and clear.

A study of the nationality of the fathers of 8352 individuals was made. Next to boys whose fathers were native born (Negro or White) the Italian group ranks next, followed by Polish and Russian.

No one can ignore the fact, shown by this survey, that more constructive planning must be provided in those areas where there is a large percentage of Negro population, particularly in the fields of employment and recreation".

Having written the above, I naturally agree with these statements.

3. The following quotation is part of a statement prepared in 1942 by members of the personnel of the Municipal Court, and I agree with these statements.

"The disproportionate share of Negro children involved in delinquency and dependency cases reflects certain obvious factors and, no doubt, is influenced by others which only complete analysis will disclose. In the first place, the Negro family

suffers in general from widespread unemployment, as is evidenced by the fact that, despite the shortage of labor in certain fields in the present emergency, industry is only now beginning to draw upon the ranks of Negro labor. In the second place, during the past 20 years there has been a heavy migration of Negroes from the south to the north. The change from a simple rural community to a complex city, with a higher tempo of living, is bound to be productive of social difficulties, and this tendency is accentuated by the lack of job opportunities. The figures further reflect the lack of satisfactory recreation and housing facilities and other community resources for the Negro, and this is clearly borne out by the fact that 68 per cent of the Negro boys who were held for court were repeaters as opposed to 51 per cent of the white boys."

"What community resources are available to meet these urgent needs? Training schools for children such as Sleighton Farms and Glen Mills, frequently have no vacancies. On occasion children who have been committed to training schools have been held as long as 3 months in the House of Detention pending admission. This constitutes a very unwholesome situation since the available facilities do not permit segregation of those committed from those who are waiting hearing. The lack of resources further means that children who should be committed to a training school at the time when they would be most responsive to the treatment which it would provide, must necessarily be placed, as a matter of expediency, in foster homes. That those children do not lend themselves to placement in foster homes is shown by the large turnover in these cases, together with the excessive run-aways. The result is that when a child eventually reaches the training school he is more calloused and less susceptible to a constructive experience, by virtue of having become more deeply entrenched in a delinquent pattern."

"But the problem is too large for solution either by the Court or by any single Agency. What is needed, and immediately, is a joint and thorough study of this entire problem, which may well be considered today the most serious single problem in the field of child care."

In conclusion I would recommend the following:

1. Increase the facilities of tax supported recreation. This would mean the consolidation or coordination of the three public recreation systems in Philadelphia. Certain schools, in areas which have no recreation, could be used as community centers.

2. Increase the compulsory attendance age to 18 years. Today a youth may leave school at 17 years and, in normal times, is unable to find a job until he is 18 years. This period of 1 year is often a time of frustration and discouragement.

3. Urge the legislature to increase the number of industrial schools for minor offenders so that adequate institutional care can be provided when needed.

4. The creation of "Neighborhood Councils" so that local residents may discuss and plan their own programs. This would be a means of solving many inter-racial difficulties. The "Neighborhood Councils" could be sponsored by social groups, churches, etc., but not political organizations.

5. Housing programs should be stressed.

Exhibit No. 13

Prepared by:

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Suggestions Concerning Desirable Educational Services in the State of Pennsylvania

A. Intercultural Education

Intercultural Education is high in the list of subjects that require increased emphasis in the present period of world history. Among the values that may be achieved by extending and intensifying this phase of public education through the action of the State Department of Public Instruction are:

1. Reappraisal of the contributions made to American life and culture by the various Ethnic groups of which our population is composed.
2. Deepening the appreciation of Public School Teachers and pupils for the accomplishments of peoples in other parts of the world concerning whom the average American is woefully ignorant or horribly misinformed.
3. Establishing a channel for improving Inter-American relations through the study of the History, Art, Language, Literature and Customs; through personal contacts and travel, through an exchange of teachers.
4. Establishing a basis for handling intelligently the problems of human adjustments in the period of Post-War Reconstruction. This is especially important for citizens of a nation who have not been accustomed to deal politically, economically or socially with Orientals, Colonial peoples, Latins, etc., on the basis of respect and equality.

Essential to the success of this undertaking is a supply of well trained teachers with enlightened attitudes and emotional maturity. To be qualified for this task persons would need formal training beyond the Bachelor's degree, considerable experience with representatives of other cultures, and a Social Philosophy untainted by the superstitions, stereotypes and racial myths by which the attitudes of the American public have been determined previously.

All promising teacher-candidates for such service should be carefully recruited and given special training in Universities, in International Institutes and through travel and language study as soon as conditions permit. Teachers and pupils should have opportunities for constructive personal contact with individuals and groups representing these cultures con-

cerning which we know so little, but ^{with} which our economic and political destiny is inseparably interwoven.

In addition to the instructional materials within the school system extensive use must be made of the resources of museums, public and private libraries and individuals from the various Embassies and Consulates. To the more formal subject-matter approaches may be combined the more vital approaches through drama, music and folklore. The development of understanding and appreciation of forms of government and social institutions will require ingenuity and courage on the part of School Administrators and teachers and breadth of outlook on the part of the citizens of the State.

B. Some Possible Functions of Negro Organizations in Making Public Educations More Effective

Among the rank and file of Negro Americans, the Public School System is viewed as charity provided by a benevolent town or city for its citizens or as a burden imposed by law upon persons who at the ages of 15 to 18 would prefer to be doing things more profitable than "going to school". There is little feeling of proprietorship in a great social enterprise. There is inadequate understanding of the central and crucial position of publicly supported schools in a democracy.

The possibilities of improving the quality of citizenship, the opportunities for vocational training, the privileges of helpful contacts in the extension of human sympathies are largely overlooked or minimized by the masses of Negroes and others of similar socio-economic status. It must be admitted that inequalities within the system, and unfortunate attitudes of school officials, teachers, and parents of the more privileged sections of society account largely for the foregoing reactions.

Negro religious, fraternal, labor, civic and social groups are in touch with rank and file Negro life. Through these channels mass appeals can be made and programs of thought and action can be projected with a view to arousing a more active public concern in seizing the advantages and utilizing the offerings of public education. The persistent and systematic activities of such groups may result in lowering the rate of truancy, improving the per capita daily attendance records, lengthening the period of formal education for Negro Youth and strengthening the inclination of Negro Youth and Adults to pursue all available forms of Continuation, Specialized (Technical etc.), and Adult Education.

The aforementioned organizations could take responsibility for initiating or recommending and supporting investigations, studies, legislation and specific action along the following lines:

1. Work through the memberships of these groups to create clearer understanding of the necessity for vocational efficiency and social intelligence for all citizens in our population.

2. Request local authorities to make a careful survey of the number and percentage of Negro children of school age enrolled in the various divisions of city school systems throughout the State.
3. Set up procedures for examining the effects of separate school systems on the learning, outcomes, and attitudes of both the white and Negro pupils in a few selected communities.
4. Encourage Negro parents to participate in Parent Teacher Associations.
5. Encourage conformance to compulsory attendance regulations.
6. Insist upon adequate guidance of Negro youth by public school guidance personnel.
7. Encourage attendance at continuation school and at special training day and evening schools.
8. Organize community forums as a special function of the public school. In such forums concentrate upon an examination of the role of the school in a democratic society, and the discussion of matters of public welfare.
9. Assist parents in keeping abreast with the educational development of their children.
10. Develop plans for informing the constituencies of these organizations regarding the functions of the school as an instrument for providing educational services for all the children of all the people.
11. Use the press, the platform and other channels of communication for acquainting these citizens with their responsibilities and privileges as supporters of public educational institutions.
12. Through mass meetings, special educational celebrations, visits to schools and descriptions of community projects keep before the people the claims of education upon their time and resources.
13. Consult public school records to determine what happens to Negro Youth in the process of Age-Grade progress from primary grades through Senior High School.
14. Establish a Cooperative Research Committee to keep cumulative records of the effects of public education upon college attendance, employment, community leadership, and the cultivation of Special talents.

On some of these matters the organization may work independently, but in most cases some form of cooperation will increase the likelihood of satisfactory results.

C. Increasing the Activity of Negro Parents in Parent-Teacher Programs

The lack of participation of Negro parents in parent-teacher programs reflects a generalized tendency to pay too little attention to societal problems and to allow someone else determine policies and set the pattern by which public affairs are directed and controlled. These parents have had limited opportunity and experience in the formulation of broad social policy. They have not found ready access to those important councils in which the needs of the total community were being considered. Their judgments have not been consulted in setting up goals for public agencies and, for the most part, their opinions have not factored in deciding what the school program should be and what particular services the school should perform for society as a whole and for the various sub-groups in a given geographical area.

For this large body of rank and file Americans the functions of government are located in the City Hall, the State House or the National Capitol; for most of them the rights of citizenship are confined to voting on election days and paying taxes of one kind or another; in their view the essence of education is contained in what takes place in a class room or in the offices of school principals and superintendents. In quite the same spirit many parents of Negro school children, by default, deliver the parent-teacher program into the hands of "leading citizens". In many localities the teachers and school officials make no special effort to acquaint the Negro parents of the existence and legitimate functions of a Parent-Teacher Association. In some cases parents are deterred by an acute sense of the differences in social status, training and effectual power between themselves and others whom they would meet in Parent-Teacher meetings. In the absence of wholesome and reassuring experiences through this medium many disgruntled parents make the principal's office a center of bombardment whenever difficulties arise in the relationship of their children with the school.

The first step is a thoroughgoing program of education in the details of citizenship. The second step includes an analysis of community life and a description of the obligations and prerogatives of parents in the maintenance and direction of every agency that is created to serve the public welfare.

Following are suggested steps in remedying present conditions:

1. Require Principals to inform Negro parents concerning the existence and functions of Parent Teacher Associations.

2. Instruct visiting teachers to encourage parents to take advantage of their privileges and opportunities as participants in P.T.A.'s.
3. Suggest that Negro organizations, especially churches and fraternal orders, inform their constituencies regarding the value of participating in local P.T.A. activities.
4. Advise school officers to release frequent announcements in the local press which would catch the eye of all citizens.
5. Advise local P.T.A. officers to plan meetings at hours that suit the convenience of parents in the lower social-economic brackets.

